

DECEMBER 5, 1975

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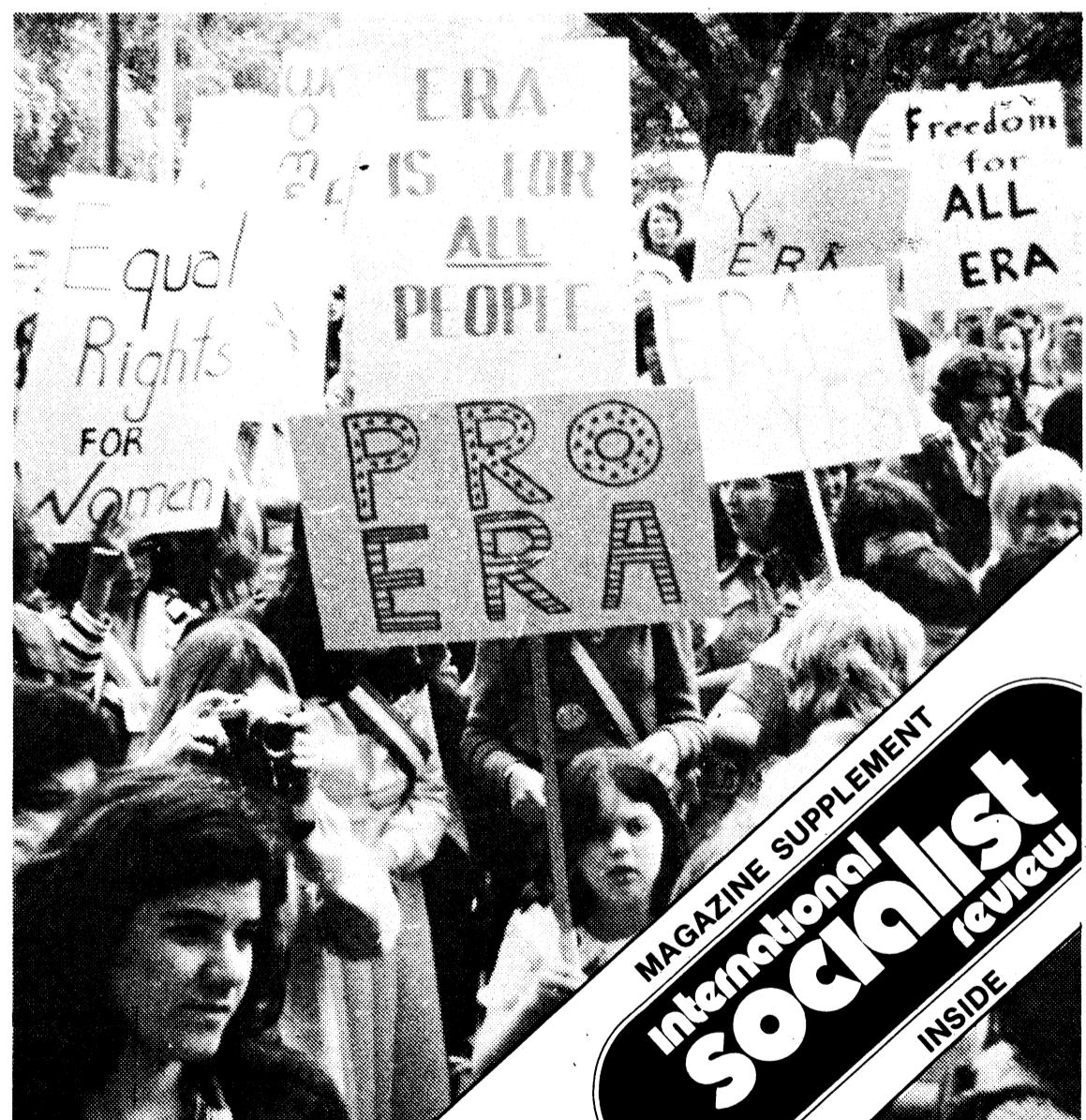
VOLUME 39/NUMBER 45

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NO U.S. INTERVENTION! HANDS OFF ANGOLA!

—PAGES 6-7



Why CP betrays fight for the ERA

CHICAGO 'RED SQUAD'

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GOV'T 'HOLDING TRUTH FOR RANSOM,' SAY MEEROPOLIS: Michael Meeropol charged November 21 that the government was "holding the truth for ransom" by charging more than \$37,000 for FBI and CIA files on Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Michael and his brother Robert have sued for all files on their parents under the Freedom of Information Act. The exorbitant bill handed them by the cop agencies was for nearly 30,000 documents, but the Meeropols claim there are actually between 300,000 and 500,000 on the 1950s frame-up and execution of the Rosenbergs.

November 21 and 22 were days set aside by the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case for actions across the country to demand the release of all the files. The committee has also launched a national petition drive directed toward Attorney General Edward Levi.

ANTIBUSING AMENDMENT TABLED: The House Democratic caucus tabled, and thus defeated, a proposal November 19 that would have directed their members on the judiciary committee to send to the House floor an antibusing constitutional amendment. The motion to table the resolution came from House Speaker Carl Albert, who said the busing issue "is so explosive and so controversial that it will do harm to the Democratic party."

On November 17 the Supreme Court upheld a lower court decision that Delaware's school districting law is unconstitutional because it prevents busing between Wilmington and its suburbs. While that decision was a victory for prodesegregation forces, another move may give racists hope. The Supreme Court has agreed to hear a challenge to the Pasadena, California, desegregation plan.

'U.N. CONDEMNED ZIONISM, NOT JUDAISM': "The United Nations Has Condemned Zionism/The United Nations Has Not Condemned Judaism" headlined a full-page ad in the November 21 *New York Times*. Designed to counter the hysterical charges of anti-Semitism that greeted the UN resolution on Zionism and racism, the ad was signed by the Arab Information Center. "To insist on the identification of Zionism with Judaism is to insist that all Jews are Zionists, and, by implication, attribute 'eternal' political loyalties regardless of time and place. . . .

"If criticism of Zionism is criticism of the Jewish people and of Judaism," the group argues, "does it then follow, by Zionist standards, that criticism of nazism is criticism of the German people and of Christianity?"

BLOOMINGTON FORUM ON PALESTINE: "Palestine is the Issue," a slide show produced by the Association of Arab-American University Graduates, was also the title of an accompanying forum sponsored by the Bloomington, Indiana, Young Socialist Alliance November 14. Speakers included Enoch Caine, YSA; Sami Jadallah, Organization of Arab Students; and Prof. Reja-e Busailah. Nearly 100 people attended.

UFW FILES CLAIM ON ILLEGAL ARRESTS: The United Farm Workers union has filed a \$2.9 million claim in California against Kern County, in which the rich Delano grape area is located, and neighboring Tulare County, charging 116 illegal arrests of union organizers. The UFW organizers were arrested in the fields during union representation election drives in violation of a ruling by the state Agricultural Labor Relations Board that union organizers have the right of access to workers in the fields.

Although the California Supreme Court so far has refused to overturn the board's ruling, judges in the two counties ruled that the private-property rights the growers claimed superseded the rights of union organizers. The claim against the two counties is a necessary preliminary to a lawsuit. The counties are expected to ignore the claim, at which time the UFW can file a court action.

BOSTON FARM WORKERS SUPPORTERS RALLY: A march and rally of 300 was held in Boston November 8 to emphasize stepping up the boycott of grapes and lettuce not produced under United Farm Workers contracts. Rev. Vernon Carter, a longtime leader of the civil rights movement in Boston, chaired the rally and drew an analogy between the racist violence in Boston and the intimidation faced by the farm workers at the hands of the growers.

'N.Y. TIMES' HITS FBI PLOTS AGAINST KING, SWP: "If proof of a 25-year campaign of harassment of the Socialist Workers' Party, a legitimate political organization, and an effort to drive an outstanding citizen to suicide cannot prod the Congress to erect such safeguards for freedom, it is hard to imagine what can." Thus editorialized the *New York Times* November 21. Under the heading "Inciting Suicide," the *Times* charges the "concerted campaign to eliminate Dr. [Martin Luther] King as a force

in American life was only the most visible of more than 2,300 efforts by the F.B.I., under its counterintelligence program, to interfere illegally and improperly in the political processes of the United States and in the private lives of many American citizens."

90 PERCENT OF CANCER MAY BE CAUSED BY POLLUTION: A Library of Congress report indicates that 70 to 90 percent of cancer may well be caused by filth disgorged into the air by industrial polluters. There is little chance of discovering pollution-related diseases, the report says, because the effect of the poisons is cumulative.

The study shows the air we breathe is full of highly toxic substances—such as asbestos, chlorine, nickel, mercury, carbon monoxide, and hydrocarbons—in small amounts, but enough to cause cancer, heart disease, and genetic mutations.

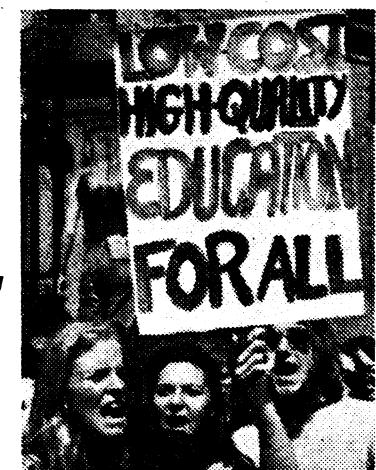
Meanwhile, the government reports that cancer deaths reached an all-time peak in the first seven months of 1975—up 5.2 percent over 1974. More alarming was the increase in deaths from cancer in the past forty years: approximately 140,000 in 1933, but 350,000 in 1975. The National Cancer Institute was unable to explain the rapid rise.

UPDATE ON NEW TRIALS FOR FRAME-UP VICTIMS: A new trial date of January 12 has been set for J.B. Johnson. A St. Louis judge denied defense motions to drop all charges November 18. In July the state supreme court overturned Johnson's 1972 conviction of being an accomplice to the murder of a white cop. . . . The court of appeals decision that found Yvonne Wanrow's 1973 murder trial illegal has been appealed to the Washington State Supreme Court. Wanrow, a Native American, was convicted for defending herself and her children from a drunken white child molester. The court will hear the prosecutor's appeal in March 1976. . . . On December 9 Willie Burnett will go on trial in Louisville for the second time on charges of raping a white woman. His 1974 conviction was overturned in the spring of 1975 because of insufficient evidence and illegal testimony.

BISHOPS LAUNCH ANTI-ABORTION DRIVE: American Catholic bishops have launched a massive political campaign to reverse the 1973 Supreme Court decision granting women the right to abortion. The annual meeting of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops devised a plan, encompassing every congressional district in the country, to push for a constitutional amendment banning abortions. "We have been subjected to a brainwashing by people pushing abortion," said Terence Cardinal Cooke in announcing the bishops' scheme. The campaign will include issuance of regular anti-abortion statements, testimony on legislation, letters to editors, and the establishment of pregnancy counseling centers. Money is apparently no object—the group's lobbying arm has raised more than \$415,000 for anti-abortion activities since April 1974.

—Nancy Cole

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By Dick Roberts

The newly released Senate report on CIA activities proves beyond any doubt that the U.S. government routinely undertakes to assassinate foreign political leaders and to overthrow their governments.

Chief among Washington's enemies, and selected for study in the 347-page report, were Fidel Castro and Patrice Lumumba, two of the outstanding leaders of the struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Salvador Allende, popularly elected head of the Chilean government in 1970, was targeted for assassination by the Nixon administration even before Allende took office.

The trail of bloody deeds detailed in the Senate report leads to the Oval Office of the White House. Those assigned to murder foreign leaders were instructed in a document of the Eisenhower administration that "no one should be permitted to stand in the way of the prompt, efficient, and secure accomplishment of this mission. . . .

"Hitherto acceptable norms of human conduct do not apply. If the U.S. is to survive, long standing American concepts of American fair play must be reconsidered."

Assassination plotters typically included the U.S. president, top CIA and other cabinet officials, and a batch of hired thugs acting as CIA operatives.

'Every possible means'

• "At some time during that discussion, President Eisenhower said something—I can no longer remember his words—that came across to me as an order for the assassination of Lumumba who was then at the center of political conflict and controversy in the Congo," Robert Johnson, a former member of the National Security Council staff, told the Senate committee.

• Richard Bissell, the CIA's senior Clandestine Services officer, testified that "during that entire period, the [Kennedy] administration was extremely sensitive about the defeat that had been inflicted, as they felt, on the U.S. at the Bay of Pigs, and they were pursuing every possible means of getting rid of Castro."

• On September 15, 1970, president Nixon met with attorney general John Mitchell, CIA director Richard Helms, and Henry Kissinger to discuss Allende's election victory in Chile eleven days earlier.

Helms said he left the meeting with the "impression . . . that the President came down very hard that he wanted something done, and he didn't much care how and that he was prepared to make money available. . . . This was a pretty all-inclusive offer. . . . If I ever carried a marshall's baton in my knapsack out of the Oval Office, it was that day."

The Senate "Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities" headed by Idaho Democrat Frank Church also reported on the assassinations of Dominican dictator Rafael Trujillo and South Vietnam's Ngo Dinh Diem.

Trujillo was shot by a group that had been armed and financed by the CIA. Diem was killed in a coup supported by president Kennedy and encouraged on the scene by the U.S. ambassador to South Vietnam, Henry Cabot Lodge. (In fact, however, the Church report does not go as far as the Pentagon papers, upon which most of Church's material on Diem is based. The Pentagon papers make it crystal clear that Kennedy and Lodge stopped at nothing to get Diem out of the way. To Church, Kennedy only "supported the coup" and "there is no evidence that American officials favored the assassination.")

Some of the details and a good deal of the commentary in Church's report are intended to distract attention from its real meaning.

CIA assassins: orders came from Oval Office



Church's main concern, in the words of the report, is that "such activities almost inevitably become known. The damage to American foreign policy, to the good name and reputation of the United States abroad, to the American people's faith and support of our government and its foreign policy is incalculable. This last point—the undermining of the American public's confidence in its government—is the most damaging consequence of all."

Thus the CIA report takes its place alongside other attempts to stamp out the fires of disbelief ignited by Watergate. Church would like us to believe that the assassinations are "aberrations."

But Church's report ends up adding fuel to the fire.

Colonial revolution

For example, the report tries to downplay the significance of its own findings with the suggestion that "the assassination plots all involved Third World countries, most of which were relatively small and none of which possessed great political or military strength."

But Fidel Castro and the Cuban revolution inspired anti-imperialist revolt in Latin America, Africa, and Asia. Patrice Lumumba was the foremost martyr of the African liberation struggle in the early 1960s. Both were revered by radicalized youth who were soon to leave their mark on the politics of the United States and Europe, as well as in the semicolonial countries.

That such interrelations were well known to the assassination plotters is indicated by Church's report. One CIA telegram from Leopoldville in the Congo warned about Lumumba that "anti-West forces rapidly increasing power Congo and there may be little time left in which take action to avoid another Cuba."

Bronson Tweedy, chief of the CIA's African division, reported that "the concern with Lumumba was not really the concern with Lumumba as a person. It was concern [with] the effect on the balance of the Continent of a disintegration of the Congo. [It] was the general feeling that Lumumba had it within his power to bring about this dissolution, and this was the fear that it would merely be the start. . . ."

These were no aberrations. Crushing the first successful socialist revolution in the Western Hemisphere and rolling back the global tide of national liberation struggles were the central foreign policy considerations of every administration in the White House from Eisenhower's to Nixon's.

That the Johnson administration is only mentioned in passing is an "accident" of the five particular assassination plots Church zeroed in on (although the plots to murder Fidel continued under Johnson). But there is no mention of Johnson's U.S. Marine "pacification" of rebels in Santo Domingo in 1965. The mass executions in Vietnam, year after year, and the bombing and napalm burning of cities to rubble are not included.

Omissions

Also omitted are the assassinations of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, and Fred Hampton. Yet the main message of the report is precisely that the rulers of this country will stop at nothing to crush their enemies.

It is already known that the CIA's domestic "Operation Chaos" was directed at the antiwar, Black, and student movements. Who can believe that the government was not involved in the murder of Black leaders?

Moreover, Church tries to convey the impression that such CIA activities as he describes are over. But U.S. imperialism faces even greater problems on a world scale today than in the 1960s

(not to mention the obvious fact that Allende's overthrow occurred only two years ago).

With the deepening crisis of world imperialism, with revolutionary upsurges in major capitalist nations such as Portugal, with the war raging in Angola, where the CIA's activity is already known, *there will be more U.S. assassination gangs, not an end to them.*

Church's deception

A good deal of space in this report is occupied by hypocritical attempts to cover up links between the top U.S. officials and lower-echelon CIA agents. Church wants us to believe that the leading officials in the U.S. government do not tell their subordinates what they mean and that the subordinates do not tell the leading officials what they understand them to mean.

Thus the report has presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy, the National Security Council, and other top officials telling CIA agents to "dispose of Castro," "do something about Castro," "remove Castro," and "knock off Castro."

But, says the report, "those officials never consented to actual assassination efforts."

Church's report shows that assassinations were permissible on a business-as-usual basis. The only things impermissible were to get caught or to use incriminating language.

The report underlines by implication that the top leaders of the country consistently lied. When did Eisenhower ever admit he was out to murder Lumumba? When did John Kennedy and his brother Robert ever tell Americans how much time they spent conspiring to murder Fidel?

Church pretends that at least his living witnesses were telling him the truth. But these same men were the architects of the Vietnam War. The Pentagon papers show that they lied every step of the way.

Star witness

One of Church's star witnesses on "Operation Mongoose," the Kennedy brothers' program to assassinate Fidel, for example, was none other than Gen. Edward Lansdale. The same Lansdale also headed up "Operation Sunrise" in Vietnam—the program in which Vietnamese peasant villages were burned to the ground and the survivors were rounded up into concentration camps known as "strategic hamlets."

The fact is, imperialist foreign policy must be carried out under an umbrella of lies. The vast majority of people would oppose the imperialists if they knew the truth—this was a central lesson of the struggle against the perpetrators of the Vietnam War.

To top it off, Church wants a law making this kind of assassination illegal. But who would enforce such a law? The liars in the government? The liars in the CIA? The liars in the FBI?

The very suggestion that such a law would mean anything is another effort by Church to whitewash the criminals who rule this country.

The assassination plots are a logical outgrowth of imperialist foreign policy. The Church report itself points to this when it says that "the plots against Fidel Castro personally cannot be understood without considering the fully authorized comprehensive assaults upon his regime, such as the Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961 and Operation MONGOOSE in 1962."

But the Church report upholds these criminal actions, saying, "There is, however, a significant difference between a coldblooded, targeted, intentional killing of an individual foreign leader and other forms of intervening in the affairs of foreign nations."

No law will end the assassinations, nor will it end once and for all the mass murders such as those carried out against the people of Vietnam. Only the end of imperialist rule will end these atrocities.

Camejo hits FBI, CIA crimes on N. Calif. tour

By David Salner

BERKELEY, Calif.—“The CIA plotted to kill Lumumba. Lumumba was killed. Only the U.S. Congress can't find any connection between these two events.”

Peter Camejo, Socialist Workers party presidential candidate, was pointing to congressional hypocrisy in the face of recently revealed FBI and CIA criminal activities. “Congress tells the CIA and FBI to ‘cool it’ for a little while. You know, after a big job you have to ‘cool it,’” he said.

Camejo was speaking to a socialist rally at the Oakland-Berkeley campaign headquarters November 22. Nearly 300 San Francisco Bay Area supporters packed the forum hall and jammed into the adjacent bookstore and offices.

They included a contingent of teach-

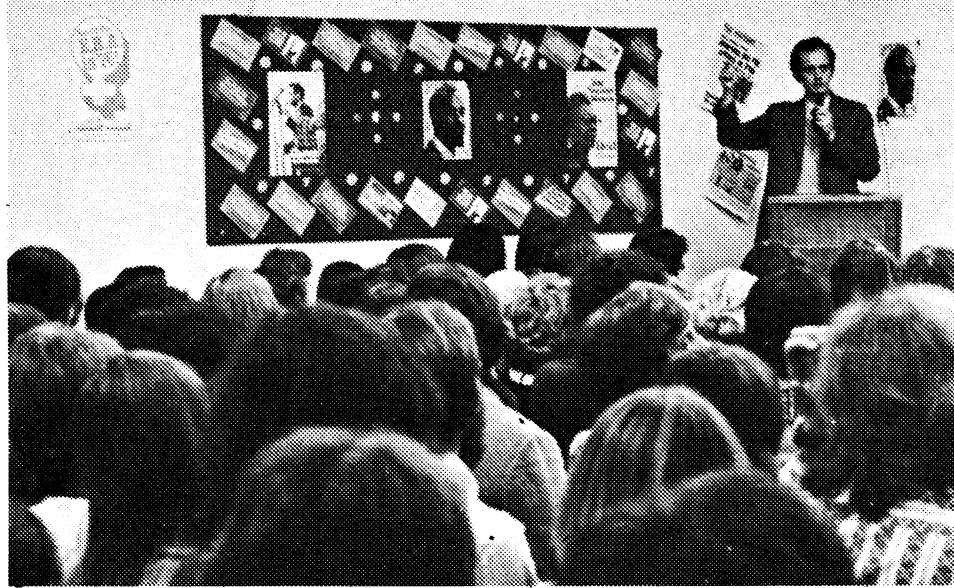
ers. . . . In 1965, when we started campaigning against the war in Vietnam, we were a small minority.

“But we won the majority of the American people, and I think if we can win them about something that's happening ten thousand miles away, we can win them about something that's happening right here.”

Taylor tried to grill Camejo further on the question of terrorism. “Terrorism has always been detrimental to the interests of the masses of working people,” Camejo said. “As we found out from FBI documents, the police and FBI agents were the ones who advocated doing illegal things. . . .

“I'm absolutely opposed to terrorism. It never helps any movement fighting for social change. That's been our position. In fact, we've been the victim of illegal acts by the government.”

PETER CAMEJO FOR PRESIDENT



Militant/David Salner

SWP presidential candidate Camejo argues that American people have right to know truth about government secret plots.

ers active in the recent Berkeley teachers' strike. There were also machinists, communications workers, office workers, hospital workers, state employees, and Teamsters, as well as students from many Bay Area campuses. One campaign supporter, Marsha Tucker, sold ten subscriptions to the *Militant* to rally participants.

Repeated applause greeted the talks by Camejo and Omari Musa, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. A fund appeal netted more than \$2,200.

After the rally, Camejo rushed off to speak on an hour-long talk show on KGO radio. One of the major San Francisco stations, KGO reaches listeners in ten western states.

On the air, Camejo demanded the opening of all the secret FBI and CIA files. He also stressed the importance of support to the United Farm Workers' boycott of scab products.

Since starting his campaign almost a year ago, Camejo has been denouncing the secret operations of the FBI and CIA. He argues that the American people have the right to know the full truth about the plots this government engages in both at home and abroad.

And millions of people have heard this message. During a half-hour interview on the CBS television affiliate in Los Angeles November 15, Camejo called for an end to FBI harassment and spying on the SWP and other groups. The show reaches an estimated 200,000 viewers.

The interviewers, Ruth Ashton Taylor and Bill Stout, tried to conduct the interview like a witch-hunt. Prior to the show and during the commercials, Stout repeatedly baited Camejo in an unsuccessful attempt to make him lose his temper on the air.

When Taylor pressed Camejo on the question of revolutionary tactics, Camejo responded: “We can't make social change until we win the majori-

On November 21, the newly established socialist campaign committee in San Jose held a banquet and rally for Camejo and Musa. It was attended by fifty-five campaign supporters.

From talking to those present at the rally, it was clear that the Socialist Workers party is indeed at home in San Jose.

Two participants at the rally, Janet Clifford and Carol Silva, were recently involved in a strike against a local restaurant. When Musa was in town on tour, he joined their picket line.

Clifford recently joined the Young Socialist Alliance, but for Silva, the campaign rally was her first socialist event. “I enjoyed it,” she said. “I hope more people get familiar with the socialist campaign. It gives you a good perspective on what's going on.”

Prior to Camejo's arrival in the Bay Area, the National Caucus of Labor Committees, a right-wing cult, had begun a new campaign of threats against SWP members here and in other parts of the country.

In San Francisco they made threatening phone calls and vowed to attend a November 19 meeting for Camejo at the University of San Francisco. “We're going to get your candidate,” one of them told an SWP member.

Two NCLC thugs were escorted from the meeting before they could cause any serious disruption.

During the discussion period, Camejo pointed to the support of the SWP and the YSA for the antiracist struggle. Following this, a young Black woman told the audience of more than 200:

“I've decided to join the Young Socialist Alliance, and I hope the rest of you will do the same.” Four others decided to join the socialist movement at the meeting, two of them the YSA and two of the SWP.

Socialists urge support for D.C. ‘Post’ strike

By Craig Landberg

WASHINGTON—The Greater Washington Central Labor Council has called for a city-wide rally December 13 in support of striking *Washington Post* workers. Announcement of the support action was made by James O'Sullivan of the press operators union at a socialist campaign rally here November 15.

Also speaking at the rally was Ed Heisler, chief labor spokesperson for the Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee. During his stopover here November 12-15 as part of a national tour, much of Heisler's activities centered on showing his solidarity with the strikers and urging others to support the *Post* strike.

“The union-busting drive in New York is beginning to spread to other cities,” he said at the campaign rally. “We have an example of that right here in Washington, D.C., with the strike at the *Post*.”

The *Post* strike began October 1 when Local 6 of the International Printing and Graphic Communications Union was forced to walk out after its contract expired. The press operators were soon joined by the *Post*'s mailers and photoengravers.

All locals with *Post* contracts are honoring the picket lines. Members of the *Post* unit of the Washington-Baltimore Newspaper Guild, however, have split over their unit's directive to honor the strike. At their meetings, a majority has voted to cross the picket lines.

The major issue is job security. Contract provisions that have been in effect for more than fifty years are being challenged by the *Post* management.

“The unions involved in that strike are carrying out a determined struggle to protect the hard-won gains of past contracts,” Heisler told the socialist campaign supporters.

“In Washington it is necessary for every working man and woman and every student to support the strike. We must do what we can in our unions, in our community organizations, and in our student groups to build the biggest possible show of force in support of their strike.”

Join us

() Send me a free copy of the campaign platform, “A Bill of Rights for Working People” () in English, () in Spanish.

() I want to come to a campaign meeting to help plan activities.

() I want to join the Socialist Workers party.

() Enclosed is my contribution of \$_____.

Contact the campaign headquarters nearest you (see Socialist Directory, page 30), or clip and mail to: Socialist Workers 1976 National Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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Address _____

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Telephone _____

Occupation _____

Business address _____

School/union local _____

Chairpersons: Fred Halstead, Ed Heisler, Linda Jenness, Andrew Pulley—Treasurer: Andrea Morell.

A copy of our report is filed with the Federal Election Commission and is available for purchase from the Federal Election Commission, Washington, D.C.



Militant/Mark Ugolini

On tour for socialist campaign, Ed Heisler (right) joins 'Washington Post' picket line.

On Thursday Heisler had walked the picket line and visited the strike headquarters of Local 6. There he met with James Dugan, local president, and other union members and discussed ways of building public support for the strike.

Heisler appeared on the “Nine in the Morning” TV show, during which he urged backing for the strike. He also was on four radio programs and was interviewed by National Public Radio. That interview will be broadcast on 179 stations nationwide.

During his tour, Heisler also spoke to a meeting at the University of Maryland in College Park and met with a number of campaign supporters who are members of the Washington Teachers Union.

The November 15 rally was the culminating event of a socialist educational conference. In addition to Heisler and O'Sullivan, speakers at the meeting were Ollie Bivins, recent Socialist Workers party candidate for Boston School Committee; Stephanie Caiola, D.C. boycott coordinator for the United Farm Workers; Erich Martel and Brenda Brdar, 1975 SWP candidates for D.C. School Board; and Karen Carter, an activist in the Student Coalition Against Racism who recently joined the Young Socialist Alliance.

By the end of the weekend's conference activities, five people had decided to join the SWP or the YSA.

MILWAUKEE—Ed Heisler toured Milwaukee, Madison, and Racine, Wisconsin, November 5-8. In Madison he spoke at the University of Wisconsin, and in Racine he was interviewed by the editor of *Racine Labor*, a weekly published by the Racine AFL-CIO Labor Council.

The high point of his tour was a socialist campaign rally November 7 in Milwaukee. Speaking at the event along with Heisler were Bernie Senter, Socialist Workers party candidate for mayor, and Michael Murphy, a Black member of the Young Socialist Alliance facing charges for defending himself from an assault by a Nazi several months ago.

A letter of greetings was read to the rally from members of Prisoners for Survival in Waupun State Prison. In the letter, the prisoners requested that Senter tour the prison to talk with them and inspect conditions there firsthand.

After the rally, three high school students joined the YSA.

On November 8, Heisler participated in a panel discussion, attended by more than seventy people, on “The FBI versus the Bill of Rights” as part of a regional conference sponsored by the Milwaukee YSA.

Beame's 'unity' rally flops

Thousands protest N.Y. cutbacks

By Ike Nahem

NEW YORK—New Yorkers took to the streets on Monday, November 24, in three separate rallies relating to the city crisis.

Day-care workers and parents as well as students and faculty from the City University of New York (CUNY), victims of the massive budget cuts in social services and education, held two demonstrations against all cutbacks and layoffs.

The third rally was called by the primary executor of the cuts, Mayor Abraham Beame.

Day care has been especially hard hit under Beame's austerity program. The latest announced cuts mean the

For editorial on 'What kind of unity in N.Y.?' see page 10.

closing of at least twenty-eight day-care centers throughout the city.

In response to these attacks nearly 300 day-care workers and parents gathered in the morning at Bryant Park for a spirited picket line and rally, followed by a march to the Times Square demonstration called by Beame.

Child care, not war

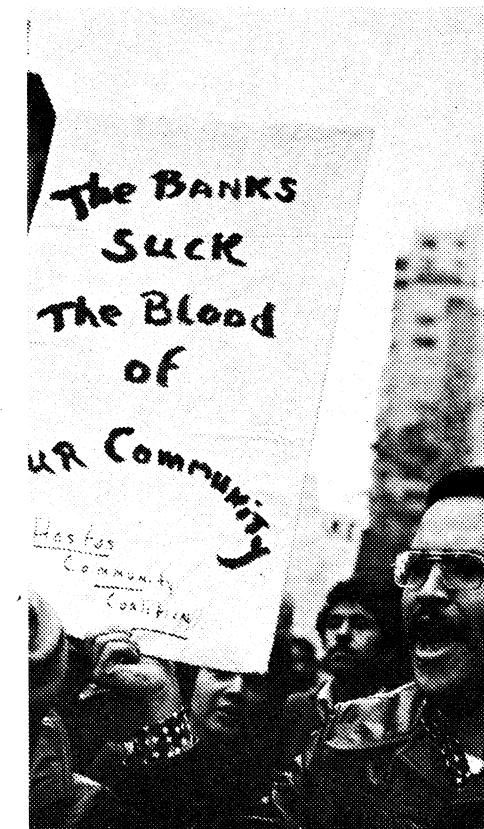
Ninety percent of the marchers were women, most of them Black workers and parents. They carried signs demanding, "Children's needs before bankers' greed," "Money for child care, not for war," and "Day care, not welfare," and chanted, "No cuts, no way; day care is here to stay."

Several centers brought their children to the demonstration, where they marched with colorful signs they had decorated at the centers.

The action was initiated by Our Children's Center, a Brooklyn center threatened with closing, and backed by other day-care activists. They won the grudging official endorsement of the day-care workers union, Local 205 of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, District Council 1707. The union officials, however, did nothing to help build or organize the action.



Outside board of higher education meeting November 24



Militant/Lou Howort

each other's support."

Sam Manuel, coordinator of the New York Student Coalition Against Racism and a leader in the struggle of CUNY students against cutbacks, also gave greetings and expressed the solidarity of students with the day-care demonstrators.

Pat Wright, a worker at Our Children's Center and Socialist Workers party candidate for Congress from Brooklyn, addressed the rally and received a very favorable response. A statement by Wright distributed to the demonstrators said, in part:

"The government has the money for child care and for all the other services that have been cut. We should demand they use it for *our* benefit, instead of using it for war spending and tax-free triple-guaranteed giveaways for the banks.

"Thousands of students have demonstrated at City Hall and marched on Washington against cuts in the City University. Poverty workers have protested. Countless others have protested and demonstrated.

"More has to be done. What's needed is a conference of unions, students, and community groups to discuss a united plan of action to defend the rights of all working people."

Students picket

Later in the afternoon 3,000 CUNY students, together with teachers from the Professional Staff Congress, held a militant picket line at the board of higher education building on Manhattan's East Side, filling the entire block.

The action was called by the University Student Senate and the Professional Staff Congress and backed by the New York Student Coalition Against Racism and other student groups.

Inside, the board was deliberating on various proposals, all calling for drastic cuts in CUNY. The next morning's *New York Times* reported that the "chants and shouts" of the protesters "penetrated the meeting room in a steady, hollow roar."

The chants included: "They've got the money, we're no fools; take it from the banks and give it to the schools"; "No cuts, no way, free tuition is here to stay"; and "They say cut back, we say fight back."

Students were present from most of the twenty CUNY campuses, with signs such as "Pay for education or pay for ignorance" and "Education is a right, not a privilege." Faculty members, threatened with four-week

unpaid furloughs, carried signs, "No cutbacks, no furloughs."

As a result of the frequent mobilizations of CUNY students and faculty this fall, the board has so far postponed making an open, public decision on the most severe cuts. It has moved slowly and cautiously before imposing tuition and ending open admissions.

At its November 24 meeting the board again put off a vote on the cuts, slating its decision for December 1. Student leaders have tentatively scheduled another demonstration for that time.

'Can't let them divide us'

Carlyle Thornhill of the Baruch College student government addressed the rally and called for students to attend a united meeting called for December 10 of all students, unions, and community groups affected by the cutbacks (see box).

Thornhill said, "Today is a first step. We are out in the cold today because we want to be warm tomorrow. We

Continued on page 30

Call Dec. 10 meeting to discuss united actions

A city-wide meeting of students, unions, and community groups to discuss united action against the cutbacks and layoffs in New York City has been called for December 10 by the University Student Senate and the Professional Staff Congress.

The University Student Senate is made up of the student governments on all City University (CUNY) campuses. The Professional Staff Congress, the faculty union at CUNY, is affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO.

In a separate but related development, the New York chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, at its November 22 membership meeting, voted to initiate a united meeting to bring together all those affected by the cuts. Twenty-five CLUW members signed up to work on a committee to organize such a meeting.

[Printed below is the full text of the call for the December 10 meeting, unanimously adopted by the University Student Senate November 23.]

WHEREAS: The crisis of New York City will impose severe hard

ships upon students, minorities, women, and working people of this city. The financial crisis and threatened default will deprive citizens of public services that should be provided as human rights, such as education, hospital care, day care, sanitation, etc.

WHEREAS: These budget cuts affect all. They can only be fought successfully by a united fight of all those affected demanding no cuts, no layoffs, *no tuition*.

WHEREAS: The University Student Senate has obtained the support of community and union organizations such as the UFT [United Federation of Teachers], the Teamsters, Library Workers, and Day-care Workers.

BE IT RESOLVED: That the University Student Senate initiate efforts to coordinate united activities of students, unionists, and community organizations.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That we set December 10, 1975, for a city-wide meeting of students, unions and community organizations to discuss united action against the cuts, and that the chairperson of the Senate forward invitations to individuals and organizations for the December 10 unity meeting.

Rally for health care

By Brian Johnson

NEW YORK—Three hundred health-care personnel from the city hospital system demonstrated November 20 in front of Bellevue Hospital to protest the announced closing of all podiatry, venereal disease, oral surgery, and "well baby" clinics.

The demonstration was called by the Committee of Interns and Residents, the doctors union that conducted a successful strike last March.

CIR President Jay Dobkin told the demonstrators that "getting out in the streets is exactly what we have to do."

Dobkin said the doctors union "has elected to take a stand against the cutbacks and layoffs. We need the other unions in this city to take a stand."

"This is a really big fight," he said. "The bureaucrats in Washington couldn't care less what happens to the patients and the hospital system. We've got to be too loud, too noisy, too obnoxious, until they have to restore the cuts."

Angola wins freedom, but faces new

By Ernest Harsch
From Intercontinental Press

After 490 years of direct colonial rule, the Portuguese flag in Angola was taken down for the last time in the early evening of November 10.

Within hours of the final Portuguese withdrawal, two rival Angolan regimes were proclaimed. The Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA—People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) established the People's Republic of Angola, with its capital in Luanda.

The Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola (FNLA—Angolan National Liberation Front) and the União Nacional para Independência Total de Angola (UNITA—National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) proclaimed the Democratic People's Republic of Angola, with Huambo (formerly Nova Lisboa) as the temporary capital.

The country's future remains clouded by the continuing warfare, as contending imperialist powers step up their intervention and jockey for control over Angola's vast natural resources. But the end of direct colonial rule nevertheless marked a historic victory for the Angolan masses.

Angola is rich in oil, diamonds, iron, and other minerals, and its agricultural land is among the most fertile in Africa.

Forced labor

From the end of the slave trade until the early 1960s, Africans were subjected to forced labor on the European-owned coffee, sugar, and sisal plantations. Millions of Angolans were forced to flee the country to escape the appalling living and working conditions.

When Angolans organized to oppose the harsh colonial rule, they were met with massive repression. After a widespread uprising in northern Angola in March 1961, organized by the União das Populações de Angola (Angolan Peoples' Union, the forerunner of the FNLA), the Portuguese bombed and napalmed villages and massacred tens of thousands of Africans.

Despite Lisbon's barbarous use of force, it was unable to crush the Angolan nationalist struggles. The resistance of the FNLA, MPLA, and UNITA placed a great strain on Lisbon's empire.

Lisbon's inability to win its colonial wars led to the overthrow of the Salazarist dictatorship on April 25, 1974. The Portuguese bourgeoisie realized that the only way it could hold on to its economic interests in Africa was to give up formal political control and adopt neocolonial methods of rule.

The Portuguese imperialists intended the transition to neocolonialism to be a gradual one. But the coup



Topped Portuguese statue in Huambo (formerly Nova Lisboa). End of colonial rule marked historic victory for Angolan masses.

touched off a massive upsurge in Portugal and led to the rapid growth of the nationalist forces in the colonies. This limited Lisbon's ability to maneuver and hastened the process toward independence.

Angola's assumption of formal independence November 11 was the final stage in the dismantling of the Portuguese African empire. Guinea-Bissau won its independence on September 10, 1974; Mozambique on June 25, 1975; the Cape Verde Islands on July 5, 1975; and the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe on July 12, 1975.

Country divided

However, unlike the other Portuguese African colonies, where one liberation movement won political hegemony within the nationalist struggle in each country, Angola's independence forces remained divided.

This allowed Portugal and the other imperialist powers the opportunity to play the groups off against each other—the old technique of divide and rule, long ago perfected by the imperialist powers. The aim was to weaken the nationalist movement as a whole and to elicit as many political compromises as possible from them before the end of direct colonial rule.

In addition, by delaying the granting of formal independence for more than a year and a half, the Portuguese

military junta set the stage for all the contending imperialist powers to intervene in a civil conflict in which only the Angolan masses themselves will be the losers.

Neocolonial schemes

The Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA—Armed Forces Movement) established a coalition regime with representatives of the MPLA, FNLA, and UNITA in January 1975. The intent was to draw the three groups into the MFA's neocolonial plans and to test their willingness to "cooperate."

By accepting posts in the Portuguese-dominated regime and by agreeing to a prolonged timetable for the "transition" to independence, the three organizations dangerously compromised the struggle for independence and fostered illusions among the Angolan and Portuguese masses about the MFA's real aims.

While participating in the regime, each of the three groups showed that it favored the survival of capitalism in Angola, despite the socialist rhetoric used by some of them.

Leaders of the MPLA, FNLA, and UNITA actively carried out, and in many cases initiated, anti-working-class policies. Each pledged that foreign investment would be encouraged in an independent Angola.

Overtures to imperialists

These overtures to imperialism have continued even after the departure of the Portuguese. For instance, a dispatch in the November 12 *New York Times* reported that at the MPLA's independence day celebrations MPLA leader Agostinho Neto "said foreign investment would be welcomed from all abiding by Angolan laws."

One wing of the MFA apparently considered the MPLA the most "reliable," or useful, of the three groups in safeguarding Lisbon's particular interests in the country.

In early September Lopo do Nascimento, a member of the MPLA's Political Bureau, described the economic program drawn up by Vasco Vieira de Almeida, a Portuguese minister in the coalition regime, as "valid." Among other points, that program called for the "reinforcement" of the economic relations between Portugal and Angola.

Another factor that influenced the

attitude of this wing of the MFA was the MPLA's strong political influence on the Luanda workers and the Mbundu people in the Luanda-Malange region. For this reason, the MPLA was viewed as being in a better position to control workers' struggles in Angola's main industrial center than either of the two other rival organizations.

However, the policy of the Lisbon military junta as a whole toward the three groups was a cautious one.

The safest policy, in the view of the Portuguese, was to leave open the doors to "cooperation" with whatever nationalist force gains dominance. For this reason, the MFA declared that it was formally "neutral" in relation to the factional struggle.

MFA role

Despite the MFA's public "neutralities," its overtures to the FNLA and UNITA, and its occasional threats against the MPLA, some of its actions in Angola have in reality given the MPLA an advantage over its rivals.

The formal dissolution of the first coalition regime in mid-August, after the MPLA drove the FNLA and UNITA out of Luanda, enabled the MPLA to gain control of most of the governmental apparatus. At the same time, the MPLA continued to cooperate with the Portuguese imperialists, remaining in the regime with them.

Following the September 18 announcement that Lisbon would withdraw most of its troops by November 11, a British Broadcasting Corporation reporter mentioned a report that the Portuguese arms and war matériel in Angola would be equally divided between the three liberation movements.

The October 5 *Jornal de Angola*, which is controlled by the MPLA, reported Admiral Cardoso's denial:

I have never said that.... We shall transfer everything to the administrative or governmental institutions. The Navy's share will be handed over to the Serviços de Marinha. The ships have been handed over already on October 1. The Aeronautica Civil will receive the things of the Portuguese Air Force, while the Army will transfer some matériel to the Road-building Service, some to the Institute of Industrial Development, etc. (Cited in the October 18 *Amsterdam Facts and Reports*.)

With the MPLA in virtually total control of Luanda, where almost all the remaining government bodies were

S. Africa intervention

Since the accompanying article was written, numerous reports have confirmed the presence of South African troops in central and southern Angola, areas controlled by the FNLA and UNITA. In the November 16 *London Observer*, Tony Hodges reported seeing "over 50 uniformed South African troops stacking arms crates in the airport hangars" in Benguela. "They were aged between 18 and 20, too young to be mercenaries."

Reuters correspondent Fred Bridgeland said in a report in the November 16 *Los Angeles Times*, "In the past two weeks, I have spoken to white soldiers with South African accents in armored cars at Silva Porto, 425 miles north of Angola's border with the South African-

administered territory of South-West Africa."

"American mercenaries are helping the UNITA cause, too," according to Hodges. "An ex-Green Beret, named Skip, who served in Vietnam, told me in Silva Porto that he had offered UNITA his services as a trained pilot." A UNITA translator told reporters there were fifteen Americans at Capola, north of Silva Porto, training UNITA recruits.

British pilots have also been seen flying planes from Lusaka, Zambia, to Huambo. Former Portuguese officers and troops, some of whom were actually settlers in Angola, are also aiding the forces of both UNITA and the FNLA. There are also many Portuguese with the MPLA.

threat from imperialist maneuvers

located, such a move would be a *de facto* turnover of Portuguese arms to the MPLA.

Luanda demonstrations

The MPLA staged demonstrations in Luanda, and the Portuguese Communist party and a number of ultraleft groups held actions in Lisbon, to pressure the MFA to recognize the MPLA regime.

According to *New York Times* reporter Marvine Howe, in a November 11 dispatch from Lisbon, important forces within the MFA also favored this. Howe said:

Until the last minute, however, there were strong pressures on the Lisbon Government and military leadership to recognize the Soviet-supported Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola as the legitimate administration. Among those who fought for recognition of the Popular Movement in meetings yesterday was President Francisco da Costa Gomes.

Also included in the wing of the MFA favoring recognition of the MPLA regime were Cooperation Minister Vitor Crespo, Gen. Carlos Fabião, and Gen. Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, according to the November 12 *Jornal Novo*.

The meeting in Lisbon that discussed this question lasted from the night of November 9 until dawn the next day. All top government officials, as well as leaders of the Communist party, Socialist party, and the bourgeois Partido Popular Democrático (Democratic People's party), participated. The final decision was to withdraw from Angola without recognizing any of the nationalist groups at that time.

In the months preceding November 11, the MPLA took a number of steps to consolidate its control of Luanda.

MPLA antilabor moves

One of the first targets was the Luanda labor movement, which carried out a series of strikes beginning shortly after the April 1974 Portuguese coup and continuing until mid-1975. While a participant in the capitalist coalition regime with the two other groups, the MPLA supported a law providing for the military mobilization of striking workers.

The MPLA continued these policies after the ouster of the FNLA and UNITA from Luanda. MPLA leaders constantly exhorted workers to "produce more." One of its slogans was "Refusing to work is treason against the Angolan people."

The dock workers, who had staged some of the most militant strikes, bore the brunt of this campaign. Troops and representatives from the MPLA-dominated "neighborhood committees" went to the docks to "help" the workers load and unload ships. The workday at Luanda harbor was extended to last until 9:30 or 11:30 at night. In a speech in late September, Nascimento accused dockers who did not work of carrying out "sabotage."

The various self-defense organizations, which were formed spontaneously in some of the Luanda ghettos in 1974 after white settlers conducted terror raids against Africans, have also come under MPLA attack.

Le Monde correspondent René Lefort reported in the October 23 issue of the Paris daily that these armed groups were dissolved, reorganized with "politically conscious elements" in leadership, and then placed under the direct control of the MPLA military command. Any armed groups outside the MPLA's army or militia were declared illegal.

The MPLA's political influence still appears to be limited to the Luanda area and the region east of the capital, despite its efforts to extend MPLA control throughout the country and its

claim that it is the only "real" Angolan nationalist organization.

All three groups have sought increased international support to bolster their positions—both from the imperialist powers and from the workers states.

Although Lisbon did not extend formal recognition to the MPLA government on November 11, it was quickly recognized by the Soviet Union, Cuba, Mozambique, Congo (Brazzaville), Guinea, and Brazil. According to an MPLA official in early November, there were more than eighty governments that would recognize the MPLA regime.

Arms shipments

The MPLA gets much of its material aid, including arms, from the Soviet Union and the Eastern European states. Arms shipments from the workers states have increased sharply over the past several months. In addition, several hundred Cuban advisers have reportedly been sent to aid the MPLA.

The MPLA also gets support from several Scandinavian governments, as well as from various European Communist and Social Democratic parties.

The October 30 *Jornal Novo* reported that according to MPLA leader Paulo Jorge, the British Labour party had given its "total support" to the MPLA. Judith Harth, a member of Parliament and a leader of the Labour party, appeared at a news conference with Jorge in London.

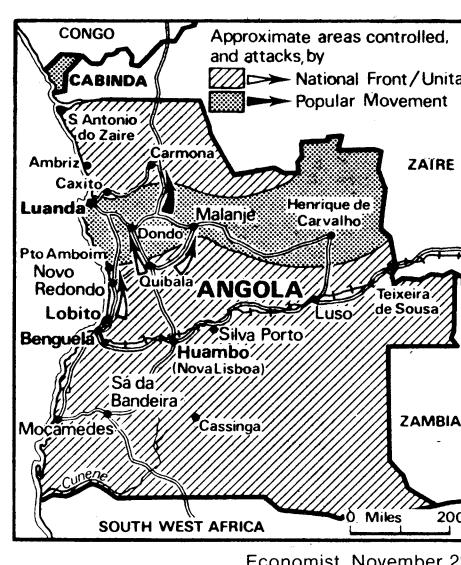
According to *New York Times* reporter Michael T. Kaufman, the MPLA may also be getting backing from an American oil company with large investments in the Cabinda enclave, which has been occupied by MPLA troops for several months.

The MPLA charges that its two rivals are "puppets of international imperialism" and denies that they have much support within Angola. At an October 24 news conference in New York, for instance, MPLA representative Saydi Mingas claimed that the FNLA recruited many of its members at gunpoint from among the Bakongo living in neighboring Zaïre.

It is undoubtedly true that the FNLA and UNITA, like the MPLA, receive foreign backing from imperialist powers, each of which is playing its own game in Angola. FNLA and UNITA leaders have made overtures to various imperialist interests to aid them in their struggle against the MPLA, which they charge with being a "tool of Soviet social imperialism."

Although the FNLA and UNITA also get aid from Peking, and claim they favor "socialism," they have both called for the maintenance of "private enterprise" in Angola.

It is not true, however, that the FNLA and UNITA are simply puppets of imperialism. They are both strongly implanted in their respective areas of the country and have a long history of resistance to Portuguese colonialism. The massive repression after the 1961



Economist, November 22



Angolans celebrate independence in Luanda. But independence hasn't stopped drive by imperialist powers to hang on to country's rich natural resources.

uprising in the north and the years of counterinsurgency operations by the Portuguese were incapable of weakening the FNLA's influence over the Bakongo people, who live in the districts of Uige and Zaïre. The UNITA has a strong base among the Ovimbundu in the central plateau region. The Ovimbundu are estimated to number about 40 percent of the Angolan population.

The FNLA and UNITA's methods of rule are no more democratic or proletarian than those of the MPLA. In August, UNITA General Secretary Miguel Puna was quoted by *Jornal de Angola* as saying that all Angolans in UNITA-controlled territory were required to carry identity cards. These cards were to be checked by "control groups."

A few days before the departure of the Portuguese, UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi called for the disarming of the Luanda population, indicating what may be in store for them if the UNITA is successful in "liberating" Luanda from the MPLA.

White troops

There are a number of reports that white troops are fighting with the FNLA and UNITA.

Newsweek correspondent Edward Behr filed a dispatch for the November 17 issue of the magazine from Ambriz, a city north of Luanda controlled by the FNLA. He reported seeing Col. Gilberto Santos e Castro, a former Portuguese officer who was now believed to be the FNLA's chief of staff.

Behr said that "it soon became apparent to me that many white officers, NCO's and technicians are holding key posts in the 30,000-man FNLA. . . . The whites became tight-lipped when asked about their origins, but it was clear that most were not in the conventional sense mercenaries. They were Portuguese Angolans who wanted to remain in Angola—drawn to [FNLA President Holden] Roberto by his promise to treat 'white Angolans' who supported him like 'first class citizens.'"

Portuguese settlers and former troops are also in the ranks and leadership of the two other nationalist organizations.

There have been several reports that South African troops are actively involved in the Angola fighting. The November 15 *New York Times* quoted a British newsman as saying, "We now have confirmation that the South African Army has a base camp at a town called Sa Da Bandeira . . . 250 miles inside Angola."

Several neighboring Black African countries have also threatened direct military intervention in Angola.

Until the Benguela railway in cen-

tral Angola was shut down by the fighting, Zambia exported most of its copper, its major export, through Angola. Speaking before a group of Zambian air force officers near Lusaka September 19, President Kenneth Kaunda warned, "The impact of the Angolan crisis on our economy and security is bound to be incalculable and must invariably involve the Zambian defence forces."

Military intervention

In the days before November 11, the Zaïrean and Congolese armies reinforced their troop contingents on the borders of the oil-rich Cabinda enclave. Zaïre President Mobutu Sese Seko declared November 10 that he did not consider Cabinda a part of Angola.

Amid reports of fighting between the MPLA and troops of the Zaïre-backed faction of the separatist Frente de Libertação do Enclave de Cabinda (Cabinda Liberation Front), the Congolese regime of Marien Ngouabi, which supports the MPLA, declared that it will send troops to Cabinda if it is taken by the MPLA's rivals.

Not the least interested in exploiting the new opportunities in the former colony are the U.S. imperialists.

In a November 6 dispatch from Washington, *New York Times* correspondent Leslie H. Gelb reported:

Administration officials told a Senate committee today that the Administration was covertly supplying arms to liberation groups in Angola, according to officials with direct knowledge of the testimony, which was given in a closed session.

Under Secretary of State Joseph J. Sisco and William E. Colby, Director of Central Intelligence, said that the Administration wanted Congressional support for a substantial amount of budgeted arms aids for Zaïre, Ethiopia and Kenya. They defended both types of aid on the grounds that the United States needed "bargaining chips" with the Soviet Union and that it is as important to maintain the balance of power in Africa as it is anywhere else, the sources said.

Sisco also "justified the Administration's covert supply of rifles, machine guns, vehicles and ammunition to the two anti-Soviet liberation movements in Angola. He maintained that the United States did not want to defeat the Soviet-backed liberation group but sought to make the other groups strong enough to negotiate a coalition government, the sources said."

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger told a news conference November 10 that Washington would not tolerate Soviet "hegemonic aspirations" in Angola.

Such clear threats of increased intervention by Washington and other imperialist powers present a serious danger to the Angolan masses in the weeks ahead.

Busing debate highlights antiracist actions

By Steve Clark

A confrontation of opinions on busing and school desegregation aroused widespread interest in Chicago's Black community last week.

The symposium, held on November 22, was sponsored by the Chicago chapter of the National Student Coalition Against Racism. Related probusing protests and educational activities occurred during the week of November 17-22 in more than fifteen cities. They were organized in response to a call by NSCAR's second national conference, held in Boston last October.

At the Chicago symposium, NSCAR coordinator Maceo Dixon and two Illinois Black leaders confronted University of Chicago Prof. James Coleman, who opposes busing. Until recently, Coleman was known as a busing proponent. In a 1966 study commissioned by the federal government, he showed that busing to achieve desegregation helped to equalize educational opportunities for Black students.

Last spring, however, bending to growing racist opposition to desegregation, Coleman issued another report, opposing busing. He says court-ordered busing has led to massive "white-flight" from the cities. This alleged result of "massive and rapid desegregation," as he put it at the Chicago symposium, has only made the situation "worse, not better."

In order to preserve what he calls "population stability," Coleman counterposed a policy of "voluntary" busing of Black and white students, both within cities and to their suburbs.

Maceo Dixon answered that "white flight" has resulted primarily from urban decay and from the racist housing policies used by real estate interests and government agencies to bar Black families from the suburbs. He pointed out that the places pinpointed by Coleman as examples of "white flight"—New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Detroit—are all cities that have not undergone any extensive school desegregation.

Coleman himself was forced to admit last July that his widely publicized conclusions could not be validated by the information he had gathered.

Dixon told the 100 participants at the meeting, "Today, being for or against busing is being for or against Black rights. The thrust of the antibusing movement is anti-Black." He noted that Coleman's arguments have been eagerly picked up by segregationist leaders.

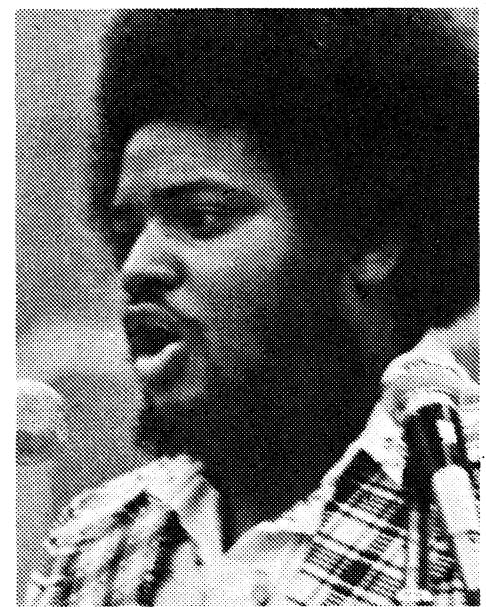
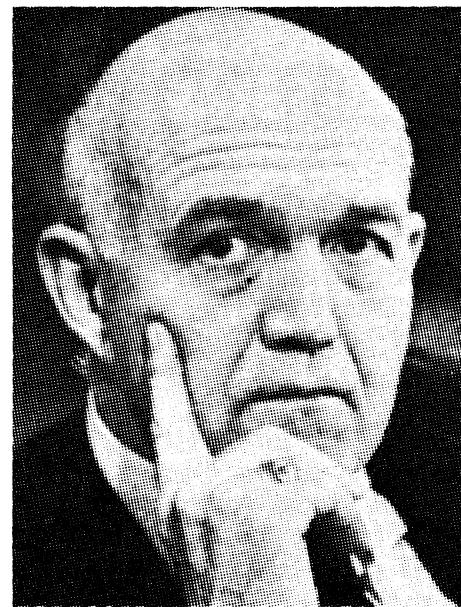
Dixon declared that Coleman's proposal for "voluntary" busing puts the onus for ensuring equal educational opportunity onto the shoulders of individual Black families, rather than onto the racist school systems that originally set up inferior, segregated schools for Blacks. He said that the racists would not voluntarily recognize Black rights, and that all necessary force should be used to implement and extend busing and desegregation throughout the country.

Dixon's arguments were backed up by two other panelists: Beverly Herst, Legal Research Director for the Chicago Urban League; and Sophia Hall, state legal-redress chairperson for the Illinois NAACP. Herst cited figures showing that the school board spends less money on the segregated schools in Chicago's Black community than on the predominantly white schools.

A fifth panelist, former mayoral candidate E. Duke McNeil, argued that Blacks should focus their efforts on gaining control over the schools in their own communities rather than fighting for desegregation.

Dixon responded that NSCAR was an active supporter of community-control struggles such as that by Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese parents in New York's school District One. He said he saw no conflict between the two struggles. "They are two methods to get the same thing: an equal education."

The Chicago symposium was co-sponsored by the University of Chicago Organization of Black Students; Rev. Willie Barrow, national vice-president of Operation PUSH; Char-



Militant/Lou Howort

Antibusing arguments of liberal professor Coleman (left) were answered by NSCAR leader Dixon at Chicago debate.

lotte Walker, chairperson of the Chicago Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression; and the student governments at Roosevelt University and the University of Illinois Circle Campus.

Another debate on busing occurred on November 19 in Boston, the current focal point of the desegregation battle. The debate was sponsored by the University of Massachusetts at Boston SCAR and by the University Lecture Series.

The antibusing position was presented by Marie Clark, president of the Boston Home and School Association, and John Doogan, director of the Massachusetts Citizens Against Forced Busing.

Joan Tuttle of the American Civil Liberties Union spoke in support of busing, along with NSCAR leader Reba Williams. Williams was applauded by most of the eighty participants when she turned to Clark and demanded, "I challenge you to propose an alternative to school busing if school desegregation is to be implemented."

November 17-22 protests took place in several other cities.

- In Dallas, 175 persons attended a speak-out to demand speedy implementation of that city's court-ordered desegregation plan. Speakers included Dallas NAACP President H. Rhett James and leaders of the Black and Chicano communities and surrounding campuses. The action was sponsored by SCAR chapters throughout Texas.

- In Denver, 100 people marched to the state capitol building to demand desegregation of Denver schools and a massive expansion of bilingual-bicultural programs for Chicano students.

- In Washington, D.C., seventy-five demonstrators picketed the U.S. Capitol to protest moves to pass a constitutional amendment banning busing. They were joined by a busload of Black tourists from Newark.

Picket lines and speak-outs were also held in Milwaukee, Atlanta, Los Angeles, Louisville, Cleveland, San Diego, Detroit, Minneapolis, and Philadelphia. Other cities are planning activities for the first week of December.

NAACP demands closing of 'Southie' High

By Jon Hillson

BOSTON—Black high school students here have turned the chambers of Federal District Judge W. Arthur Garrity's courtroom into a virtual commission of inquiry into racist harassment at South Boston High School.

The Black students began testifying November 21 at hearings called at the request of the Boston NAACP to determine whether the school should be closed. Last January the NAACP opposed a motion by Boston Mayor Kevin White to shut it down, asking instead that Garrity take further steps to ensure the safety of Black students.

The NAACP now contends that the scope of the victimization of Blacks by racist students, teachers, administrators, and police has made education impossible in the school. It is asking that students either be transferred to a building in a community safer for Blacks, or that they be divided among other Boston schools.

Affidavits and testimony by Black students document the racist abuses at South Boston:

- "Black students are disciplined for defending themselves from an unprovoked attack while numbers of the white attackers escape any disciplinary measures."

- "During the changing of classes, groups of white students frequently sing 'Bye, Bye Blackbird' and 'Jump Down, Turn Around, Pick a Bale of Cotton.'" Other chants include "Two,

four, six, eight, assassinate the nigger apes."

- Black students have been actively discouraged from participating in extracurricular activities. South Boston football coach Arthur Perdigao forced Blacks to ride to practice and train separately. He drove Black players off the team for minor infractions.

- Sandra Williams testified that she and another Black student were walking upstairs at the school when a white

student attacked her companion, shouting "Get the nigger!" A cop rushed to the scene and held down the Black student while the attacker kicked him "again and again." The Black student was suspended for five days.

- Denise Nicholson, a leader of the school's Black caucus, told Garrity of a classroom incident where racist student leader Paul Shallmo arrived at school on crutches and announced, "This is my new nigger beater."

Nicholson's teacher did nothing in response to the provocation.

Nicholson has been subjected to death threats this fall because of her refusal to be silent about the racist activity at South Boston. One anonymous caller told her that "if I came back to school I would get a knife in my back."

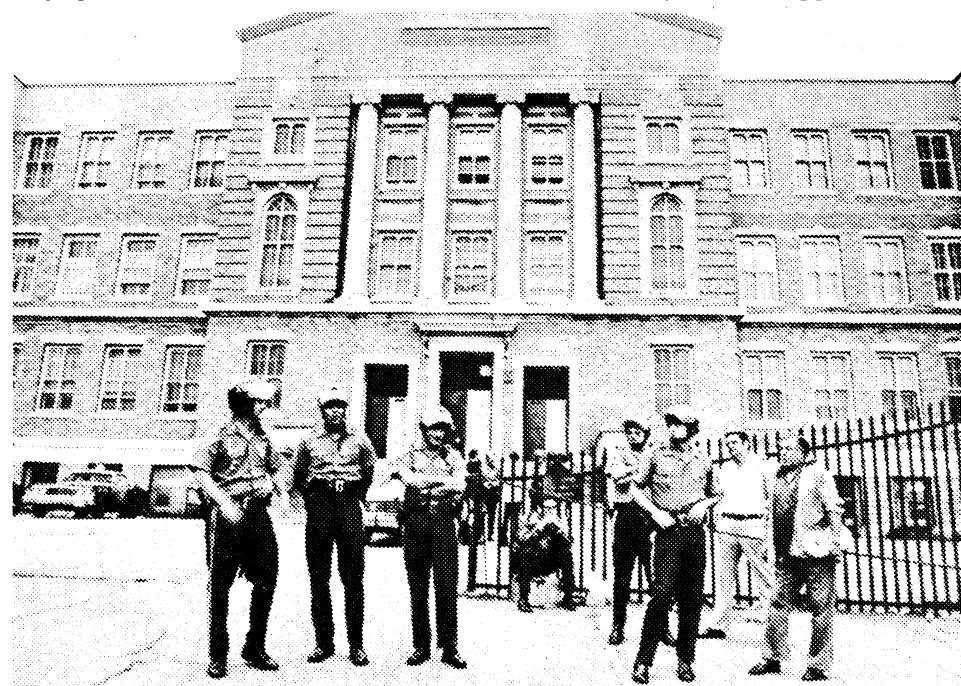
- Evonne Slaughter told Garrity that a racist school aide nicknamed "Big Red" participated in the beating of a Black student by a gang of white toughs. When Slaughter tried to aid the Black student, a state cop grabbed her by the hair and handcuffed her.

On November 22, during an unusual Saturday court session, South Boston Headmaster William Reid backed up the Black students' claims of widespread racist harassment, calling them "basically honest." Garrity nodded in agreement.

ROAR and other racist forces in South Boston, who have encouraged whites to boycott school this fall to protest busing, are dead set against closing the school. They want "Southie" to stay open, and they want to chase out the Blacks.

After the hearings were announced, racist white students at Charlestown High School staged "solidarity" sit-downs and rowdy walkouts to demand that "their school" be kept open.

Meanwhile, the hearings are front-page news in Boston, and the courage of the Black students in speaking out has dealt a setback to the racists.



Boston police outside 'Southie' High. Black students testified that cops joined with white students to beat them up.

Illinois AFSCME wins big bargaining victory

By Paula Bartlow

CHICAGO—A recent election has made this state the site of the biggest collective bargaining victory in recent years for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. The statewide election, held from October 27 through November 5, gave AFSCME collective bargaining rights for more than 12,000 clerical employees.

Nearly 70 percent of the eligible workers turned out to vote, a far bigger turnout than was expected by either AFSCME or state officials. The usual percentage is closer to fifty.

AFSCME local organizers attribute this high turnout to mounting concern of public employees about the attacks on their living standards.

"Public employees are tired of being treated as second-class citizens," said Max Liberles, president of AFSCME Local 2000. "They want to gain dignity and more rights on the job. They are serious about getting a contract and getting protection that they don't have now under the so-called civil service system."



'Public employees are tired of being treated as second-class citizens,' said AFSCME official.

Joanne Little loses on appeal: support needed

By Cindy Jaquith

Supporters of Joanne Little must "keep the public aware" of her case, said attorney Karen Galloway, in the wake of a legal setback for Little in the North Carolina Court of Appeals.

On November 19, the court refused to overturn a 1974 breaking-and-entering conviction against Little. It was this conviction, and the resulting seven-to-ten-year sentence, that placed the young Black woman in the Washington, North Carolina, jail on August 27, 1974.

That was when white jailer Clarence Alligood sexually attacked Little. When she fought back in self-defense, Alligood was killed, and Little was charged with first-degree murder.

Outrage against this racist, sexist frame-up mobilized thousands of Blacks, women, prisoners, students, and others in her support, winning an acquittal on all charges in August of this year.

Yet Little could be forced back to prison on the breaking-and-entering conviction if the racist authorities in North Carolina get their way. She is currently free on \$15,000 bond and has been speaking around the country on the issues in her case.

Galloway said that an effort will

now be made to get the state supreme court to hear Little's appeal. In the meantime, she warned, there is a danger that authorities may try to have Little jailed pending the appeal. "If Joanne has to serve any time, she will have added problems because of who she is," Galloway told the *Militant*. Retaliation from prison officials and others is feared.

In arguing the case before the court of appeals, Little's attorneys requested a new trial based on the gross irregularities of the original trial. Hearsay testimony was allowed to prejudice her case, they said, and her brother, Jerome, was advised to turn state's evidence against Little in order to reduce his own time in jail.

Jerome Little eventually received a suspended sentence, while his sister was imprisoned.

Despite the evidence of injustice, Chief Judge Walter Brock of the court of appeals ruled, "We find no prejudicial error in the trial."

During the next stage of appeal, Galloway said, "we need continuous support. The continuous type of response from the public and news media has an added pressure on the state supreme court."

Union women organize for convention debate

By Nancy Cole

Members and chapters of the Coalition of Labor Union Women are organizing to see to it that there is a full discussion at their upcoming convention on the crucial problems facing union women. Foremost among these is the question of how to defend affirmative action in the face of the current layoffs.

The issue is vital for the organization. The CLUW National Coordinating Committee (NCC), at a meeting in June, voted down a resolution that would have placed CLUW in opposition to discriminatory layoffs. The proposal that passed, and is now CLUW's official position, tries to avoid the question of discriminatory layoffs. Supporters of this position on the NCC were buckling under the pressure of the top bodies of the AFL-CIO and the United Auto Workers.

The stand adopted by the NCC has come under considerable fire in CLUW. But the agenda for the convention proposed by CLUW President Olga Madar would not provide for any discussion of this question. In fact, it would limit the entire convention to the adoption of the constitution and the election of officers.

In order to ensure that the membership as a whole has a chance to discuss affirmative action and other crucial issues, the Houston chapter of CLUW has proposed an alternate agenda that will be presented to the convention for a vote.

"We've been in touch with people around the country, and we've gotten a welcome response," says Debby Leonard, a member of Houston CLUW and of the national steering committee. Replies to a national mailing sent out by the Houston chapter are beginning to come in, Leonard adds.

The alternate agenda would allow for discussion on affirmative action, the Equal Rights Amendment, and other important issues for CLUW.

"The question of how the union movement should respond to the attacks on affirmative-action gains is being widely debated," says the statement passed by Houston CLUW along with the alternate agenda. "Because of the importance of this debate—*how to defend the affirmative-action gains of women and minorities*—there must be a place on the agenda of the CLUW convention to discuss it."

A meeting for supporters of the

alternate agenda is scheduled in Detroit on the first night of the convention, December 5.

More than 100 women attended New York CLUW's day-long meeting Saturday, November 22. The morning session discussed the constitution proposals to be voted on by the convention. A proposal to have the alternate agenda as a topic in five workshops scheduled for later in the day passed.

No vote was taken on the proposals, but everyone had a chance to consider both agendas. A leaflet distributed by supporters of the Houston agenda called for a meeting on December 1 for those New York CLUW members backing the alternate agenda.

The Cleveland chapter of CLUW met November 23 and voted in favor of the alternate agenda. The chapter is providing a bus free of charge for CLUW members to attend the convention.

They plan to fill it, too. At a November 21-22 statewide women's conference in Columbus sponsored by the Ohio AFL-CIO, CLUW's literature table did a brisk business. Most of the 200 women present stopped to pick up CLUW brochures, and 30 asked to join CLUW. Many were interested in the Detroit convention.

The Atlanta chapter of CLUW also voted to support the alternate agenda at its meeting on November 19.

Debates and panels on affirmative action and seniority are continuing around the country. A November 15 CLUW-sponsored panel in Los Angeles consisted of Mariana Hernández, a member of the CLUW Minority Women's Issues Committee; Geraldine Leshin, of the Institute of Industrial Relations at the University of California at Los Angeles; and Virginia Mulrooney, from the American Federation of Teachers.

Arguing against the "last hired, first fired" position, Hernández said, "Employers say they're doing it in accordance with the seniority principle.

"The principle we fought for was not the principle of 'last hired, first fired.' It was the principle that workers—in the event we could not prevent layoffs—should have a voice and control over who was fired.

"Our organization does not believe in affirmative action only in the good times, in other words, 'This year we're for affirmative action and next year we're not.' We're for overcoming past discrimination."



'Last hired, first fired' line up at unemployment office. Full discussion of discriminatory layoffs is needed at CLUW convention.

What 'unity' in NY?

"If New York is to be saved," wrote teachers union head Albert Shanker November 23, "leadership from Washington, Albany and City Hall are [sic] needed. Major unions, financial and business organizations, religious and civic groups must be called together." Shanker urged people to turn out for Mayor Abraham Beame's Times Square rally the next day, which had the same theme: "New Yorkers are united."

But united for what? The "financial and business organizations" demand that social services be slashed, workers laid off, wages cut, and taxes raised in order to safeguard their profits. The Democratic and Republican politicians in Washington, Albany, and city hall all agree. These forces are united behind their antilabor offensive.

The interests of working people lie in the opposite direction. They need jobs, a decent standard of living, schools, day-care centers, and medical facilities. Although workers have time and again shown their readiness to struggle for these needs, the union officials prefer unity with the Democratic party politicians and consequently try to derail any such struggles.

In recent weeks City University (CUNY) students—organized by their local student governments, the city-wide University Student Senate, and the New York Student Coalition Against Racism—have pointed toward a different kind of unity: unity of the *victims* of the cutbacks in order to fight back.

The students' march on Washington of 6,000 people November 19 set an example in several ways. Students explicitly rejected the divisive trap of calling for cuts in other services. They demanded *no cutbacks* and *no layoffs*, as well as preservation of free tuition and open admissions at CUNY. They dismissed the myth that there is "no money." Banners demanded, "Money for education, not for war" and, "People before profits."

The students sought to involve the broadest possible forces from the labor movement and the communities. They recognized that something *can* be done about the crisis, but that students can't do it alone—and neither can any other single group or union.

Now the same student forces, joined by the Professional Staff Congress, the faculty union at CUNY, have called for an emergency city-wide meeting December 10 to begin to unite those affected by the cuts and to discuss what action can be taken. They are inviting the full and equal participation of unionists, community groups, the unemployed, and Black and Puerto Rican groups.

This meeting can be a step toward uniting everyone who has a stake in fighting the cutbacks. It can help prepare the way for a city-wide conference of unions and community groups that could speak for the majority in New York—the working people—and challenge the antilabor assault.

Such a conference of labor and its allies could organize massive, united mobilizations with the power to stop the cuts. It could break from the suicidal policy of labor "unity" with the Democratic and Republican parties and move toward launching an independent political party of labor.

This kind of unity—the fighting unity of all the oppressed and exploited—is the only kind worth having.

King: a new inquiry

Last week in this space we pointed out that new revelations about the FBI's drive to silence Martin Luther King add considerable weight to the evidence pointing to government involvement in his assassination. Now two Black leaders, Dick Gregory and Rev. Ralph Abernathy, have added their voices to the demand for a new inquiry into the slaying.

Abernathy and Gregory told a news conference in Washington November 21 that the already known details of the FBI's war on King "constitute subversion of the freedoms outlined in the Constitution and [were] an attempt to destroy a man of peace who was an inspiration to millions of people around the world."

The FBI's campaign to discredit and destroy King was "an attack on the entire Black movement in the United States," the two pointed out.

The CIA and FBI know no limits on the tactics to be employed against every movement—in this country and abroad—that dares to stand up to the U.S. ruling class. As the Church committee documents, *assassination is a major weapon in their arsenal*.

The Black movement and all those who support it should not rest until the whole story of the criminal conspiracy behind the murder of King and other Black leaders is brought to light.

Ban the reactor

On Thursday, November 13, an anti-nuclear-power demonstration was held in front of the New York State Power Authority in New York City.

Despite the rain and cold, 200 spirited participants, from as far away as Maryland, Maine, and Vermont, came out to demand that all nuclear power plants be shut down and that all future projects be stopped.

The rally was initiated by the Ad Hoc Nuclear Opponents and was held to commemorate the anniversary of the death of Karen Silkwood, a crusader for worker safety who was killed under mysterious circumstances. (See the November 14 *Militant*.)

Sara Nelson of the National Organization for Women pointed out that the only reason the banks, utilities, private enterprise, and the government won't stop operating and constructing these reactors is because they stand to lose a lot of money if they do. They put profits before human safety, and we, working people, through united actions, are the only ones who can stop them.

The rally was a welcome sight, and I hope people will help build and support all future actions.

Sam Chetta
Catskill, New York

Attica still with us

Everyone should welcome the dropping of kidnap-murder charges against the three Attica Brothers last week, Frank "Big Black" Smith, Herbert X Blyden, and Roger Champen.

The state's case against them was an important one and the judge's decision was a sharp setback to the prosecution.

In his ruling the judge said there was a lack of evidence to put the men on trial. But I ask, where is the evidence to put the scores of other Attica Brothers on trial? Just as there was insufficient evidence to try Brother Herb, Big Black, and Champ, there is also insufficient evidence to try any more Attica Brothers.

This recent decision should encourage everyone to demand that charges against other Attica Brothers be dropped, and that amnesty be granted to those brothers already jammed for the state's and Rockefeller's wrongdoing four years ago.

Bo Williams
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Refugee recount

A recent *New York Times* article provides a few interesting footnotes to the *Militant's* coverage last spring of some of the Saigon regime's high-ranking refugees.

The article is sort of a "Where they are now" of the top brass of the corrupt Thieu-Ky gang. A few examples make the point.

Gen. Trang Si Tan fled Vietnam with enough money to buy a Holiday Inn in San Diego and an entire aircraft carrier, which he resold for scrap metal.

A former army chief of staff. Pull out your handkerchief for this one. It's a tearjerker.

This anonymous big-time crook arrived at the Fort Chaffee, Arkansas, refugee camp last spring with a mistress and a suitcase filled with \$1 million in big bills. His companion, however, escaped a few days later with the money and a friend closer to her age. Oh, heartless love! The general ended up in a military psychiatric ward at Fort Chaffee.

General Cao Van Vien now owns an \$80,000 home in Virginia.

Hoang Duc Nha just bought a \$100,000 home in Virginia and has opened up a store nearby.

Nguyen Van Thieu, the last dictator of South Vietnam, didn't find Virginia fashionable enough. He purchased a home in the south of France, along with two others—in England and Taiwan.

But former vice-president Nguyen Cao Ky—if we are to believe the *Times*—stupidly sank all his ill-gotten money into a South Vietnamese plantation and was only able to make off with \$40,000 in cash.

I guess there aren't any soil banks in Geneva.

E.J.C.
Chicago, Illinois

On 'justice'

When a man kills another man, they say he is a murderer. But when the warden kills him, the warden is just.

When a man robs a store, they say he is a thief. But when the district attorney robs him of his life, the district attorney is honorable.

To take a human life is forbidden, but who made it lawful for the warden?

Shall we meet evil with evil and say this is the law?

Shall we fight corruption with corruption and say this is the rule?

Shall we conquer crime with more crime and say this is justice?

What justice do the authorities display when they kill the killers? when they imprison the robbers? when they descend on another country and slay its people?

What does justice think of the authority under which a killer punishes the one who kills, and a thief sentences the one who steals?

A prisoner
North Carolina

Worth sharing

I am enclosing money to cover the cost of two extra copies of the November *International Socialist Review*.

After reading the resolution of the Socialist Workers party 1975 convention, I feel certain the Socialist Workers have a more comprehensive and realistic view of the direction we need to take.

The resolution is something I would like to share with others but dare not part with my one and only copy.

Z.K.N.
Richmond, Virginia

Nursing students protest

On November 14 about 300 nursing students at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst, along with some of their supporters, held a march and rally against the cutbacks faced by the school of nursing.

The nursing program is threatened with possible loss of accreditation, and the situation is critical. The present student-faculty ratio is 25 to 1.

According to national standards it should be 11 to 1. The administration has proposed cutting enrollment as a solution, which will leave many students now enrolled out altogether.

Prior to the demonstration the administration, in an effort to limit opposition to the nursing program cut, offered ten part-time faculty. The nursing students and faculty rejected this, saying it was totally inadequate.

The nursing students demanded a contract with the university that

international **SOCIALIST** review

Why CP Betrays Fight for Equal Rights Amendment



Leon Trotsky: Tasks of American Revolutionists

THE MONTH IN REVIEW

Why Labor Needs Its Own Party

The ruling rich have declared a nationwide war on the rights and living standards of working people in this country.

In New York City, the most extreme example, the entire finances of the city are being reordered directly under the supervision of the big banks and investors. Billions of dollars are being withdrawn from social services and wages for municipal employees.

The same thing is happening in less publicized ways in cities throughout the country. With the excuse of trying to "prevent another New York," other city administrations are pointing to the need to follow in the steps of New York's antilabor policies.

Meanwhile, inflation and unemployment are unabated. Teachers in city after city have been forced out on strike in the face of layoffs, cutbacks, and crowded classrooms. Courts have ordered mass jailings of strikers in New Haven, Connecticut, and Cahokia, Illinois. Reactionary movements are on the rise, under the banners of opposition to busing for desegregation and opposition to equal rights for women.

What is happening nationally is a drive by the capitalist class to change the relationship of forces between workers and bosses. If city administrations succeed in their assault on municipal workers, private employers will be encouraged to go after the stronger industrial unions as well. The capitalist class wants to force the masses of people to work harder in return for less wages and social services, thus making American corporations more competitive in the scramble for international markets shrunk by the world depression.

Despite the rising anger and militancy among the ranks of labor, the union movement as a whole appears trapped and impotent in the face of this assault. The strategy of the current leadership of the unions has been proved absolutely bankrupt.

In New York, Victor Gotbaum and Albert Shanker, heads of the largest public employee unions in the city, have totally accepted the city administration's claim that "there is no money." They have stood passively by as city workers' wages have been frozen, pension funds have been appropriated, and teachers union contracts have been torn up. Massive layoffs and cutbacks threaten the very fabric of city life.

In San Francisco, the weak-kneed response of the union leadership paved the way for passage of the antilabor Proposition B, which will slash wages of thousands of city employees.

The AFL-CIO tops have refused to get behind those who have been hit first and hardest by layoffs—Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto

Ricans, and women—allowing affirmative-action programs to be threatened and reversed by discriminatory layoffs.

In the one case of a vigorous attempt of a union to organize the unorganized—the United Farm Workers organizing drive in California—Meany and Company have failed to back this effort in any serious way.

On important social issues where the AFL-CIO leadership has taken a formally correct position—such as support to busing to achieve school desegregation, and backing of the Equal Rights Amendment—they have made no move to mobilize the ranks into action. Thus racist antibusing mobs in Louisville have been able to speak in the name of some union locals. And the unions stood by as the ERA in New York and New Jersey went down to defeat.

What is wrong with the current leadership of the unions? Why are they doing nothing? What kind of new strategy is needed to pull the labor movement out of its paralysis?

It is necessary first to look clearly at the nature of the crisis. The economic crisis for working people does not stem from insufficient wealth to provide for wages, schools, and hospitals. There has been no destruction or loss of factories, wealth, or productive potential of this country.

The problem is not insufficient money, but rather a political problem of deciding where public resources should go, and whether production should be at the service of social need or private profit. Should the money be spent for schools, or for interest payments to the banks? For hospitals, or for bombs and missiles?

A new, fighting strategy for the labor movement must begin by raising questions like these, by rejecting the political framework and priorities of the bankers and industrialists.

It is not enough to find new union leaders who are better negotiators with the bosses or who are more militant on the picket lines. The current crisis cannot be answered on the union level alone.

There are two aspects of the necessary next step forward for American labor. One, the unions have to link their struggles to those of all the oppressed around the major social issues of the day. Two, labor has to organize itself on the political level by building a labor party to fight against the Democrats and Republicans, who are both dedicated to the priorities of the ruling rich and to using the power of the government against workers.

The need for the labor movement to think socially and act politically becomes even clearer when we look at the strategy of the bosses and the government. In their campaign to drive down the standard of living of the whole working class, the capitalist rulers are trying to capitalize on the labor movement's greatest weaknesses—the fact that it is divided and isolated socially, and shackled politically to the Democratic and Republican parties.

This is one reason why the rulers have centered their initial attack against the municipal employees. They knew the city workers are more vulnerable in these ways than other workers.

When city workers fight back for jobs and wages, all the big social and political questions come immediately to the fore. If the unions remain within the general social and political

perspectives of the two capitalist parties, they are disarmed from fighting back. For example, how could New York City workers respond effectively to the layoffs and cutbacks when their unions are committed to supporting their boss, a Democratic party administration?

Furthermore, since the wages of municipal employees come out of public funds, any struggle by them automatically raises questions of social policy and priorities. In order to win protection of jobs, wages, and working conditions, city workers must be able to win the minds of the public. If the unions do not take a correct stance on "nonunion questions" such as racism, sexism, military spending, discriminatory layoffs, and other social issues, they will not be able to win the necessary allies to their struggle. And they will not be able to counter the capitalists' strategy of setting working people against each other to weaken labor as a whole.

The problems of the municipal workers are only a more acute version of the problems facing the labor movement as a whole.

The unions need a leadership that has a vision for society as a whole, uniting behind them all the oppressed in order to pose an alternative leadership for the entire country.

Today more than ever, labor needs its own party—a totally new kind of party that will lead and coordinate struggles on all fronts and run candidates for public office in the name of labor. A party that would fight for all working people—including for women, for Black people, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans, for students, for the unemployed, for the unorganized.

Such a party could elect working people to city halls and legislatures across the country. It could elect people who would refuse to carry through cutbacks, who would refuse to jail fellow workers on strike, who would refuse to pass antilabor legislation, who would refuse to vote a penny more for military appropriations.

Such a party would draw its strength from the rank and file of the labor movement, relying on labor's own resources and methods of struggle.

To build such a party, a new leadership will have to arise in the unions. The Gotbaums and Shankers, Meany and Abels, have no faith whatsoever in the rank and file of the unions and no idea what working people could do if united and mobilized in our own interests. Even the few union leaders who take more progressive positions on union democracy—such as the new Mine Workers' leadership, Ed Sadlowski of the Steelworkers, or César Chávez of the Farm Workers—still remain within the framework of looking to the Democrats on the big social and political questions at the root of today's crisis, rather than to labor's independent strength.

It is certain that in face of the current economic crisis, new leaders are going to emerge from the plants, from the offices, from the classrooms, from the grape and lettuce fields, from the mines. These new leaders and fighters will be capable of organizing, speaking, and writing, and capable of assuming public office and making decisions in the interests of all working people.

The sharpening antilabor offensive has proven that this leap for labor—to think socially and act politically—is absolutely necessary for working people to be able to fight back successfully in face of the current crisis.

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Why CP Betrays ERA Fight

In the New York and New Jersey referendums on the Equal Rights Amendment, the Communist party joined with right-wing groups in calling for defeat of the amendments. Why?

By Dianne Feeley and Caroline Lund

The defeat of state equal rights amendments in the November referendums in New York and New Jersey was a setback for the women's liberation struggle. A Gallup poll last spring found that supporters of the federal Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) outnumbered opponents by two to one, while a poll in the New York City area found support running at more than 80 percent. But this mass sentiment in favor of equal rights for women was not mobilized to bring out the vote.

When the ballots were counted, the amendments to the state constitutions lost by 400,000 votes in New York and 60,000 in New Jersey.

Reactionary forces campaigning against the ERA immediately leaped on the defeat in New York and New Jersey, claiming that it was a vindication of their bigoted views on women's "place" in the home. An anti-ERA leaflet prior to the referendums claimed that "militant women's groups" were behind the ERA in order to "downgrade the role of mother and homemaker" and "to make it difficult for the wife to remain home with the children and instead push her out into the work market."

Other spokespersons for the anti-ERA campaign—which included organizations ranging from the Conservative party and the American Legion to the Catholic church hierarchy and the John Birch Society—claimed that supporters of the ERA were "women who want to destroy the country." Some even tried to blame the current recession on the greater employment of women that has been encouraged by the drive of women for equality.

On the day after the November elections, Meg Katz, head of the New York City Stop ERA organization, brazenly announced: "I think the public has grown up. I think the women libbers have got to realize that the people can't identify with them and they don't know how to identify with the people."

Immediately, opponents of the ERA announced drives to rescind

Dianne Feeley has spoken and debated as a representative of the New York Coalition for Equal Rights, including debating Meg Katz, head of the New York Stop ERA. She is author of the pamphlet *Why Women Need the Equal Rights Amendment* (Pathfinder Press, 1972), and is a member of the National Organization for Women and the Socialist Workers party.

Caroline Lund is a member of the national committee of the Socialist Workers party and editor of the International Socialist Review.

the 1972 actions of the New York and New Jersey legislatures in voting to ratify the federal Equal Rights Amendment. To date, thirty-four states have ratified the federal ERA, with four more necessary to ensure its national adoption.

For supporters of women's rights, the setback in New York and New Jersey has spotlighted the necessity for a nationwide campaign of meetings, leaflets, and demonstrations to decisively turn back the tide. Only such a mobilization, organized by coalitions, can bring into the picture the real power of supporters of the ERA. Such a campaign could unite in action ERA supporters in women's organizations, trade unions, Black organizations, and churches, on the campuses, and in all other areas.

While pushing ahead in this stepped-up campaign, it is impor-

reaction. It has joined with the reactionaries on what counts most—that is, on which side they take on this national political question of great interest to women.

A Revealing Evolution

The position of the Communist party on the ERA has undergone a revealing evolution.

Back in 1970, when the women's liberation movement was first emerging and the campaign for the ERA was just beginning anew, the CP took an even more strident position against the amendment. The July 7, 1970, issue of the *Daily World* carried a statement by the CP's National Women's Commission under the title: "CP Opposes Proposed Fraudulent 'Women's Equal Rights Amendment.'" The party said it opposed the amendment because it "would repeal

ues—including in the ranks of our party."

When the CP finally came up with its position—just in time to call for opposition to the referendums in New York and New Jersey—its tone and rhetoric had shifted in an attempt to take account of the growing sentiment for women's equality. Their headline now is not "CP Opposes Proposed Fraudulent 'Women's Equal Rights Amendment,'" but rather, "Toward full and equal rights for women." And in an attempt to divert attention from their opposition to the ERA, the Stalinists propose an "alternative" to the ERA, which they call the "Women's Bill of Rights." This is a list of demands formulated by the CP, most of which are perfectly fine in the abstract. But this "Women's Bill of Rights" is simply not the issue around which pro- and anti-women's-rights forces are now mobilizing. Support for these various demands does not exempt a party from taking a stand—and taking responsibility for that stand—on the ERA, the issue that is having and will have a real effect on the situation of women in this country.

In its new statement of position the CP also finds it harder to claim that the ERA is only of interest to middle-class or professional women. For one reason, the AFL-CIO reversed its stand on the ERA at its 1973 convention under the pressure of militant women unionists (although this position remains largely on paper). The convention resolution said the amendment is "precisely the kind of clear statement of national commitment to the principle of equality of the sexes under the law that working women and their unions can use to advantage in their efforts to eliminate employment discrimination against women."

The United Auto Workers, the Teamsters, and the National Education Association—the largest unions outside the AFL-CIO—also support the amendment, as does the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

The CP arguments against the ERA, presented in its October 25 statement, run like this:

"The proposed ERA amendment to the Constitution states: 'Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the U.S. or by any state on account of sex.' This is limited to what *cannot* take place. But it does not deal with what *must be done* to make up for *past inequalities* long suffered by women in the U.S. It leaves the courts a basis for determining that hard-won protective legislation is 'discriminatory' since it applies only to women. Thus protections beneficial to women under present law could be wiped out, and passage of special compensatory laws relating to women or men may be declared illegal by the

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tutional authorities fear that such an amendment would become a constitutional bar to all future legislative reforms that are needed to establish equality. And this is especially the case with working-class women.

In view of the serious problems and contradictions, we cannot recommend that you vote for the Equal Rights Amendment.

As our alternative to the ERA we call for an active campaign on a Women's Bill of Rights, and other specific protec-

tant to take note of the outrageous conduct of one organization that claims to support women's rights and even socialism but that joins with the reactionaries in opposing passage of the ERA. This organization is the Communist party, which called on New York and New Jersey voters to oppose the equal rights amendments in the November referendums.

This position of the CP is explained in a statement by the party's National Labor Commission and National Commission on Women's Equality, which was published in the October 25 issue of the *Daily World*.

The statement uncomfortably admits that "certain ultra-Right elements, who are given top spots on television debates, are opposing ERA for demagogic and reactionary political purposes."

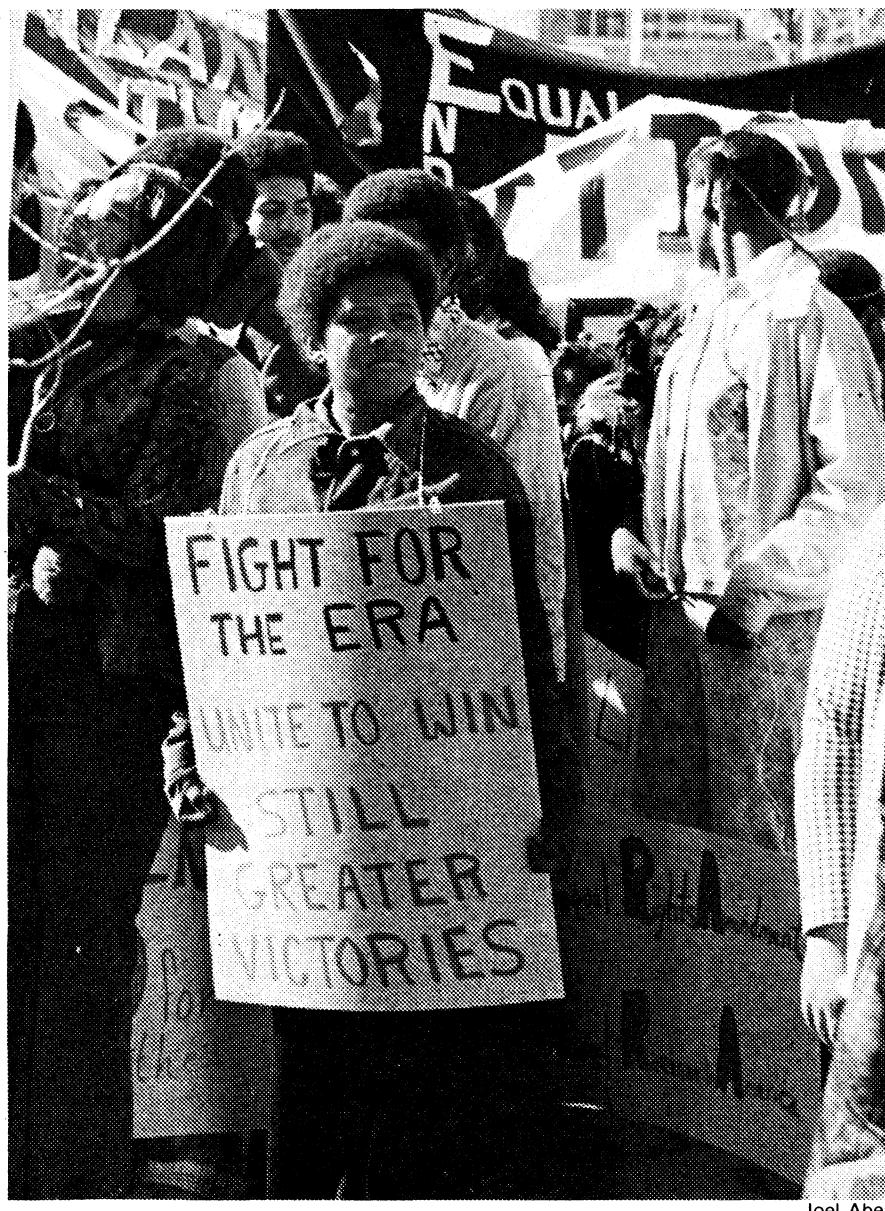
It continues: "We reject any association with such elements who spout that 'woman's place is in the home' and who do not serve the struggle to advance the fight for women's rights."

But whether the CP tries to "reject" it or not, this party has placed itself squarely on the side of

existing protective labor legislation and subject women to military service. . . ." It further claimed, in one of its pamphlets, that supporters of the ERA were "not representative of the majority of women, surely not of working women." In trying to justify such a claim, the CP could point to the position of the AFL-CIO at that time, which was to refuse to endorse the amendment.

However, as the movement for women's liberation and for the ERA grew, as the demand for equality began to penetrate all areas of national life, as women began moving into many kinds of formerly all-male occupations and roles, and after the AFL-CIO came out in support of the amendment, the CP became more and more defensive about their position on the ERA.

After the party's convention last June, it admitted publicly that it could not agree on a position on the ERA; the question was referred to the central committee for further "study." CP leader Gus Hall explained after the convention that "the controversy over the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) contin-



ultra-conservative members of the Supreme Court.

"The ERA therefore does not lay the true basis to achieve full equality for women, and is, in fact, misleading. What is needed is specific legislation for women, a concept that certain feminists unfortunately refute.

"We are in favor of special legislation for women on hours of work, maternity, weightlifting, health and safety, and rest periods because full equality will not become automatic by decree." (Emphasis in original.)

The statement goes on to say: "A number of women with positions of leadership in the labor movement support the ERA without reservation. This has resulted in a default in leadership and capitulation to big business interests who oppose affirmative action programs for women. They make no fight on preferential hiring to allow women and nationally oppressed women in particular to join the labor force and keep their jobs."

There are several things that have to be sorted out here in order to get at a clear understanding of the real thrust of the CP's position.

First of all, there are a few very specific areas—most notably that of maternity rights—in which women workers do need special guarantees of their rights. However, the ERA would have no effect in relation to laws that, for physical reasons, could only apply to one sex. So the CP's raising of this issue in opposition to the ERA is simply a piece of subterfuge.

Secondly, to further disguise its position, the CP tries to imply that it is *because* certain labor leaders support the ERA that they oppose affirmative-action plans and other forms of preferential treatment of women necessary to make up for past discrimination. The implication is that the ERA somehow runs counter to winning affirmative ac-

tion—although the CP never explains exactly why.

The fact is that the existing affirmative-action programs were inaugurated *on the basis of* Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which, like the ERA, is a guarantee of equal treatment. The winning of a constitutional guarantee of equal rights would strengthen and legitimize demands by women for preferential treatment to help erase the effects of past discrimination—not weaken such efforts!

Women and Blacks have been able to use Title VII as a tool in fighting back against individual acts of discrimination and to win court orders for affirmative-action programs. But Title VII covers only discrimination on the basis of race or sex in the field of employment. The ERA would extend such protection against sex discrimination—past and present—into all fields of government action.

Protective Labor Laws

The third piece of subterfuge in the CP's position is in regard to the ERA's effect on existing protective labor legislation that now applies only to women.

The ERA is a constitutional amendment that asserts that the sexes are legally equal. The CP's argument for opposing the amendment is that any laws providing benefits only to women "may be declared illegal by the ultra-conservative members of the Supreme Court"—that is, that to provide for equal treatment, the court would take away women's benefits rather than extending them to men as well.

The logic of this argument is to say that because the courts that interpret the laws are conservative, we might as well give up the fight for equality in advance, rather than fight for the principle that equality cannot mean the elimination of any real gains which have

been achieved in the past. The CP's defeatist view leaves out the fact that if the women's movement is powerful enough to ensure passage of the ERA, it will also be powerful enough to have a decisive impact on how it is to be implemented.

The ridiculousness of the CP reasoning can be seen by looking at the case of the Equal Pay Act of 1963. Did the CP oppose this important law on the grounds that conservative courts could have interpreted it as necessitating a lowering of men's wages to make them equal to women's? Of course not. They knew that it meant *raising* the wages of women. There is no more reason to assume that the ERA would eliminate protective laws that truly benefit women than to assume that equal pay must mean a lowering of men's wages.

It is instructive to look more closely at these protective labor laws that the CP glorifies as being more important to women than constitutional equality.

Protective laws are those labor laws that were passed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to ensure minimal health and safety standards on the job. The laws vary widely from state to state, covering women workers in some occupations but not in others. For example, these laws do not cover either agricultural or domestic workers although women workers in these fields are among the most in need of labor laws assuring decent working conditions.

The great insufficiency and hypocrisy of the system of protective laws for women is further revealed in the area of maternity rights. Not one state has laws ensuring paid maternity leaves and job security. In fact, laws still on the books in fourteen states specifically *prohibit* women from receiving unemployment benefits during the last months of a pregnancy and the first weeks following the birth of a child.

Much of the protective labor legislation reflects an important stage in the continuing struggle of the labor movement for better working conditions. The most important of these provisions, originally applied only to women, have subsequently been fought for and won by male workers as well, either through national legislation (such as the eight-hour day) or through union contracts.

Another factor that entered into the shaping of these laws, however, was the backwardness of some sections of the trade-union movement, which went along with the bosses' use of these laws to discriminate against women and keep them segregated in the relatively unskilled jobs.

Adolph Strasser, president of the Cigarmakers' International Union, expressed this perspective bluntly in 1879 when he said, "We cannot drive the females out of the trade but we can restrict this daily quota of labor through factory laws." (As quoted in *The Trade Union Woman* by Alice Henry [New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1915], p. 24.)

Some of the protective labor laws provide health and safety standards that are important for all workers. But others are clearly not protection but *restrictions* on working women.

Since 1964, women have used Title VII to challenge the use of protective labor laws to discriminate against them. Thousands of such suits have been filed by

individual working women in all types of jobs. In cases where legislation was simply restrictive—as with the California law forbidding women from being bartenders—the demand was that such laws be voided. In other cases, women charged that good laws assuring standards of working conditions were being used by employers to keep women in lower-paying job categories. (The bosses would claim that they could not provide the legally stipulated working conditions in other job categories and therefore would not hire women to fill them.) In such cases, women demanded extension of these laws to cover all workers.

In the decade since the passage of the Civil Rights Act, many states have already overhauled their protective laws under the pressure of working women and have in general acted to extend to men those challenged laws that provided real protection.

If the Communist party were consistent in its anti-ERA position, it would also have to oppose Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, because that law already provides a legal basis for challenging the use of protective laws for sex discrimination.

Other states have been reviewing their protective laws as a result of the passage of state ERAs like the ones that were just defeated in New York and New Jersey.

During the last ten years a clear pattern has been established—although piecemeal—for extending or voiding protective labor laws as they have come under the challenge of women workers. This pattern—of voiding purely restrictive laws and extending beneficial ones to men—flatly contradicts the CP's claim that the ERA will automatically mean the elimination of all remaining protective laws.

'Protection' or Equality?

We have shown that there is no reason for the CP to oppose the Equal Rights Amendment on the basis of concern for either maternity rights, affirmative-action programs, or maintenance of truly beneficial protective labor legislation. Therefore, when the CP counterposes "special protection" of women to equality, there must be something else behind it.

The real reason comes out in one little phrase in the CP statement that refers to the need for "special laws protecting women workers including weight lifting maximums [and] overtime limits so families will not suffer. . ." (Emphasis in original.)

Why do women need *special* laws—different from those covering male workers—limiting overtime? No worker should be forced to work overtime. Everyone should be paid a decent wage so that overtime pay is not necessary to supplement income. Do families only suffer when the woman is not home in time to fix supper and care for the children?

The position that women need *special* protection from overtime so that families will not suffer contains the notion that the law of the land should be based on the assumption that women play the central role in caring for home and family. Such a position comes down to saying the laws ought to channel women into continued performance of that role.

This is the real motivation behind the CP's campaign for "special protection" as opposed to guarantees of equality.

This is also the fundamental reasoning used by the reactionaries in *their* campaign against the Equal Rights Amendment and against all of the gains that women have made so far in their fight for liberation.

Laws that assume women's place is in the home are just another example of the vicious circle of discrimination whereby the fact that women are mothers is used to justify condemning them to inferior education, jobs, and opportunities.

Are Women Protected, or Discriminated Against?

In arguing that defense of existing protective laws and passage of more such laws is *more important* than the fight for equality, the Communist party reinforces the reactionary concept that women are truly protected in this society and their greatest stake is in preserving this protection. This is also the basic thesis of the right-wing anti-ERA forces, who claim that women are already "on a pedestal" and don't want equality because that would threaten this privileged position.

The reality is that women are not privileged members of society, but victims of discrimination. And more and more women see that the way to turn around this situation is to fight for equality. As we have witnessed in recent years, as the fight for equality gains momentum, women are encouraged to make use of previously unused rights, as well as to demand new rights.

Abstract Concept?

In an article in the November 18 *Daily World*, the CP's women's commission goes further in applauding the defeat of the ERA referendums in New York and New Jersey. Under a headline "CP says defeat of ERA no setback for women," the commission statement downplays the importance of win-

ning legal equality as "an abstract concept."

In trying to say that women are not interested in the "abstract concept" of legal equality, the CP is not only completely out of touch with the sentiments of the majority of women in this country; its position strengthens the hand of those who are out to push back all the gains that the women's movement has managed to win in recent years.

Stalinist Perspective

To understand why the CP opposes the elementary democratic right embodied in the Equal Rights Amendment, it is necessary to see how this position fits in with the broader perspectives of this international current in the working-class movement.

The CP's policies are derived not from the needs of the masses of women and other working people, but from the diplomatic and propaganda needs of the privileged bureaucracy that runs the Soviet government. This leads to their opposing the struggles for democratic, economic, and social rights not only of women but of all oppressed and exploited peoples throughout the world, including in the Soviet Union itself.

The Communist party cannot maintain its uncritical support to the Kremlin and the legacy of Stalinism and still support the rights of women.

When the bureaucracy headed by Stalin consolidated its power in the 1920s and 1930s, it overturned and reversed the original, radical women's liberation policies of the early Bolshevik government under Lenin and Trotsky. Stalin moved to outlaw abortions, made divorce increasingly difficult to obtain, and scaled down the number of childcare centers and other social institutions designed to lift the burden of household drudgery from the backs of women.

In the Soviet Union today, more than fifty years after the overturn of capitalism, the family is glori-

fied and women are still expected to bear the main burden of caring for home and children, and because of this they are still relegated to an inferior status.

Since its loyalty is to the Kremlin rulers, not to Soviet or American women, the CPUSA points to the Soviet Union as a model for policies in the interests of women. Thus they see nothing wrong with allowing legislation in the United States that reinforces the channeling of women into traditional roles in the home.

Inequality in the Soviet Union is not limited to women. The many non-Russian nationalities face discrimination as well. And the mass of working people are lorded over by a hierarchy of bureaucrats who provide themselves with luxuries and privileges.

Women in the Soviet Union do not have the right to organize to fight for greater rights or even to speak out against the inequality they face, just as the Soviet people in general are blocked by totalitarian repression from expressing, or organizing around, demands for a return to socialist democracy and an end to bureaucratic privilege.

Portugal and India

The loyalty of the Communist parties to the Kremlin hierarchy brings them into opposition—even if disguised in "socialist" rhetoric—to mass struggles for political and economic rights throughout the world. Their foremost goal is to maintain the status quo, in line with the détente arrangement between Moscow and Washington. That is, their position is fundamentally *counterrevolutionary*—opposing themselves consistently to the most radical demands and independent movements that arise in challenge to capitalist oppression and exploitation.

This policy has recently been strikingly illustrated in India and Portugal. In India, the Stalinists have thrown their support behind the dictatorial coup of Prime Minis-

ter Indira Gandhi, directed against rising struggles by government workers and other unions, students, and the urban poor. They support the mass jailings of opposition leaders and censorship of the press by the capitalist government of India.

In Portugal, the CP supports the pact giving all power to the military junta of the Armed Forces Movement.

In Italy, where women's groups have gathered 800,000 signatures on petitions for a referendum on the right to abortion, the Communist party opposes this historic effort in the interests of its bloc with the Christian Democratic party.

Socialism and Women's Liberation

Many women today are seeking scientific answers to the reasons for the oppression of women. More and more are looking into the links between women's oppression and the economic system based on production for private profit. They are interested in the socialist alternative and in the program of Marxists for the liberation of women.

The opposition of the Communist party to the ERA is a blow to the cause of socialism because masses of people throughout the world mistakenly identify socialism with Stalinism. In the same way, the Stalinists' trampling on democratic rights in general has created a major obstacle internationally to building a revolutionary party that can lead the fight for socialism.

With or without the support of the Communist party, millions of women in this country are going to be joining in a redoubled campaign to win ratification of the ERA in the coming year.

This battle is part of the fight for socialism, which can never win without backing the economic and political rights of women, who are half of the population.

Which Came First, Hand or Brain?

We are printing two letters in response to Evelyn Reed's article in the October *ISR*, 'Sociobiology—the New Pseudoscience.' In her comment, Reed reviews the longstanding debate over how humankind emerged from the animal world.

Editors: I've just finished reading the article on *Sociobiology* by Evelyn Reed in the October International Socialist Review. It came after I read a book by Farley Mowat called *Never Cry Wolf*, which made me very confused. It was making me question the basic concepts of evolution.

Now I realize that Mowat was doing the same thing done by Wilson—completely disregarding knowledge about evolution and especially ignoring the things which separate humans from all other animals.

Mowat painted a portrait of a wolf "family" and "society" which at the time seemed to me more rational and beautiful than anything ever accomplished by humans. Now I understand what I didn't before, that wolves are completely dependent upon their environment and at best the only thing their "society" can accomplish is to propagate their species—and that makes the difference!

Then I read *Woman's Evolution* and, later, Engels's *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, and I am so excited to have gained a real understanding of evolution. (And of course it's exciting to learn the truth about women's history.) I'm finding I'm able to read books like those written by Wilson and Mowat and evaluate them now, and also am able to explain ideas about evolution to others.

Mallen Kear
Clackamas, Oregon

Editors: Although Ms. Reed adequately exposes "sociobiology" as a pseudoscience, I believe that she misses some critical points in the subtle relationship between human biology and those aspects of our species which makes us unique. Our distinctive mental features are ultimately determined by our physical constitution; we have unique creative capacities because the neurons in our brains are organized in such a way as to

make them possible. Whatever this pattern of neuronal organization is, it is clearly genetically determined. This point is undoubtedly not controversial among materialists; however, there is no reason to maintain a priori that any one aspect of the human mind is causally related to another.

A case in point is Ms. Reed's discussion of the evolution of human language. Linguistic investigations have revealed the existence of universal properties of language. It seems that all human languages are "cut from the same mold." Significantly, the universal design of human language cannot be explained by Ms. Reed's claim that it "grew up directly out of labor activities, out of the need for collaborating producers to communicate with one another as well as to pass on their techniques to new generations."

This is because many of the specific properties of language are not obviously caused by any

particular communicative need—the universal structure of language could be quite different from what it is and still provide the means necessary for an adequate human communication system. The point is that the universal design features must be due to specific properties of the human brain. They are, therefore, genetically determined, a biological property of all humans, yet particular to language.

It is obviously true that each human language is learned, but it can only be learned by humans and by virtue of our genetically inherited capacity for language acquisition. The child's learning of a particular language requires a delicate interplay between innate mechanisms, particular to language, and linguistic experiences external to the child.

I would submit that, rather than explaining language as deriving from the need to communicate, the existence of these innate mechanisms were among a varied set of necessary conditions for the development of human society. Language does not derive from toolmaking, nor vice versa. I would also suspect that many other human intellectual and ethical capacities rest on universal physical properties of the human brain. In particular, I do not readily accept Ms. Reed's view that "altruism came into existence as men learned to live and work together as brothers, interchanging the necessities and comforts of life."

I suspect that the capacity for an ethical system is another necessary condition for human society which must be somehow programmed in all humans by the genetically determined pattern of neuronal organization. Of course, the inevitable succession of class societies to which we have been subjected provides a distorted lens for viewing the innate ethical system. A democratic, classless society is necessary to allow the innate intellectual and ethical properties of the human race to provide a new stage of human social development.

If the views expressed above are accepted, then it is a rich constellation of related but independent mental properties which sharply divide us from the rest of the animal kingdom. This would certainly not be surprising. After all, there are many manifestly organic differences between us and other animals; it is only natural to expect a large variety of mental differences which in their totality explain our unique properties.

Charles E. Cairns
Chairman, Department of Linguistics,
Queens College, New York

Evelyn Reed Comments

Professor Cairns agrees that, as human beings, we possess unique capacities not shared with any other species and that these sharply divide us from the whole animal world. The question then comes down to this: what are these exceptional characteristics and how did they first come into existence to create the gulf between us and the nonhumans?

Professor Cairns locates the prime factor for this divergence in the human brain, which, along with other intellectual achievements, gave rise to language. I, on the other hand, without denying the great significance of the brain, pinpoint toolmaking and labor activities as the originating source of our intellectual and cultural acquisitions, including language.

This is not a new discussion but one that has passed through different stages of controversy. At one time it took the form of arguing which of the key anatomical organs of the apes resulted in humanization. Since the flexible primate hand could manipulate objects in the sense of tools, and the primate brain was more highly developed than that of lower animals, these were singled out as the prime anatomical factors in elevating the first hominids out of the anthropoids. That posed the problem: which came first—hand or brain?

Today the controversy has shifted and centers upon the genetic determination of human beings. Are our intellectual and linguistic, and even our moral, attributes "programmed" by our genes? These are important questions that deserve

careful analysis.

In earlier discussions many eminent scholars, including Darwin himself, gave precedence to the enlarged brain coupled with speech. Among these were Thomas Huxley in the nineteenth century and his grandson Julian Huxley in the twentieth century, who wrote that conceptual thought and speech were responsible for the making of humankind. However, those who adopted this approach failed to answer the question: how did the human brain manage to pass so far beyond ape limits? The remark of Harvard professor Ernest Hooton that the ape "blundered" into intellectuality was hardly a scientific explanation.

The arguments and evidence presented by the more materialist lines of thought assigning primacy to the hand, which then triggered the higher functions of the brain, were far more convincing. These included E.B. Tylor, the founder of English anthropology. His countryman F. Wood Jones, an anatomist, described in some detail how the varied activities and tactile impressions gained through the use of the hand streamed into the brain, giving it larger avenues of learning than are possible with four-footed animals. The flexible hand and its manipulations paved the way for conceptual thought. (*Arboreal Man*, p. 160.)

More Human Below the Neck'

The archaeologist William Howells of the American Museum of Natural History concurred with these views. The activities of the hands, he argued, gave the brain a larger field and more complicated functions to perform. Moreover, archaeological evidence showed that, in the uneven development of the various bodily organs, originally "our forebears were more human below the neck than above it." (*Mankind So Far*, p. 129.) The same point has been made by W.E. Le Gros Clark of Oxford. (*History of the Primates*, p. 72.)

Significantly, even Frederick Tilney, renowned authority on the brain and its history, gave precedence to the hand. "From first to last it has been the achievements of his hands which have carried man onward from the time when he began to work with the simplest of stone implements. . . . The hand became the master key opening all the ways leading through that new and vast domain of human behavior." (*Brain From Ape to Man*, p. 54.)

Equipped with the freed and flexible hand, our upright ape ancestors could thus move forward to become the tool-using hominids. The great discontinuity between human and animal life began when "eoliths," the sticks and stones found in the wild that could be manipulated by the hand, were converted into "paleoliths," the first human-made artifacts or tools. True labor activities begin with this conversion of natural objects into human made instruments of labor.

The decisive importance of toolmaking as the dividing line between humans and animals has been stressed by many contemporary scientists. Among them are Sherwood L. Washburn, F. Clark Howell, Kenneth P. Oakley, and L.S.B. Leakey, who believed that the fossil evidence virtually settled the matter. Leakey wrote, "Once scientists used the size of the brain case . . . or even the power of speech, as characteristics that distinguish *Homo sapiens* from anthropoid apes. Recently, however, we have tended to define man by means of the tool-making ability." (*National Geographic Magazine*, September 1960.)

V. Gordon Childe was one of the few archaeologists to spell out the meaning of toolmaking as the essential mark of labor activities—the fundamental factor that led to the emergence of the human species. He gave a detailed exposition of how shaping tools and producing the necessities of life created the need for speech.

Thus, while lower animals, which "nose their way around," have more rudimentary means of communication through sight, smell, or sound, only humans have achieved articulate speech. Language came about through the need of the cooperating producers of tools and makers of other things to communicate with one another and pass on their knowledge and skills to younger generations. This confirmed Engels's thesis that, in the transition from ape to human, labor activity came first, and after it and side by side with it there arose speech and language.

Brain Outstrips the Hand

To be sure, in the further course of human evolution the order of priorities has changed. The brain and its intellectual powers—drawn from other avenues beyond direct labor activities—has far outstripped the hand in social, scientific, and cultural affairs. Today machines do many of the tedious chores formerly done by handicraft, while calculating machines and computers can perform many routine chores done by the brain. By the same token, speech, which originated as a "sound tool" in communication through the process of production, has developed immensely as a tool of thought, and even special "languages" such as mathematics have been devised.

However, in dealing with the origin of humanization the initial cause should not be confused with the results. About a million years ago the Ice Age posed new and harsh survival demands upon virtually all species of animal life on this planet. Many species perished, as Childe points out, while others adapted themselves in animal manner to the changed environment. Our branch of the apes alone was propelled into a wholly new mode of survival through toolmaking and labor activities. This new kind of struggle awakened and developed the brain pathways in the hominids, leading to conceptual thought and articulate speech.

Professor Cairns observes that, regardless of particular languages, the capacity for speech is a universal phenomenon and draws from this fact the conclusion that it must be due to the specific properties of the human brain. Agreed. But there is another universal capacity of humans that is of even greater importance to human life—and that is the ability to produce.

Even though the brain has in many ways taken precedence over the hand, production remains the chief determinant of human existence. If all production ceased for even a few months, the ensuing universal catastrophe of civilization would not simply engulf us as humans but would also swallow up our fine thoughts and various languages.

Professor Cairns notes further that all human languages are designed in the same mold, and attributes this also to the properties of the human brain. But is this not more adequately explained by the fact that the primates who developed into the human species had to confront fundamentally similar problems throughout the world in learning to manipulate and control the forces of nature, which operate according to universal objective laws?

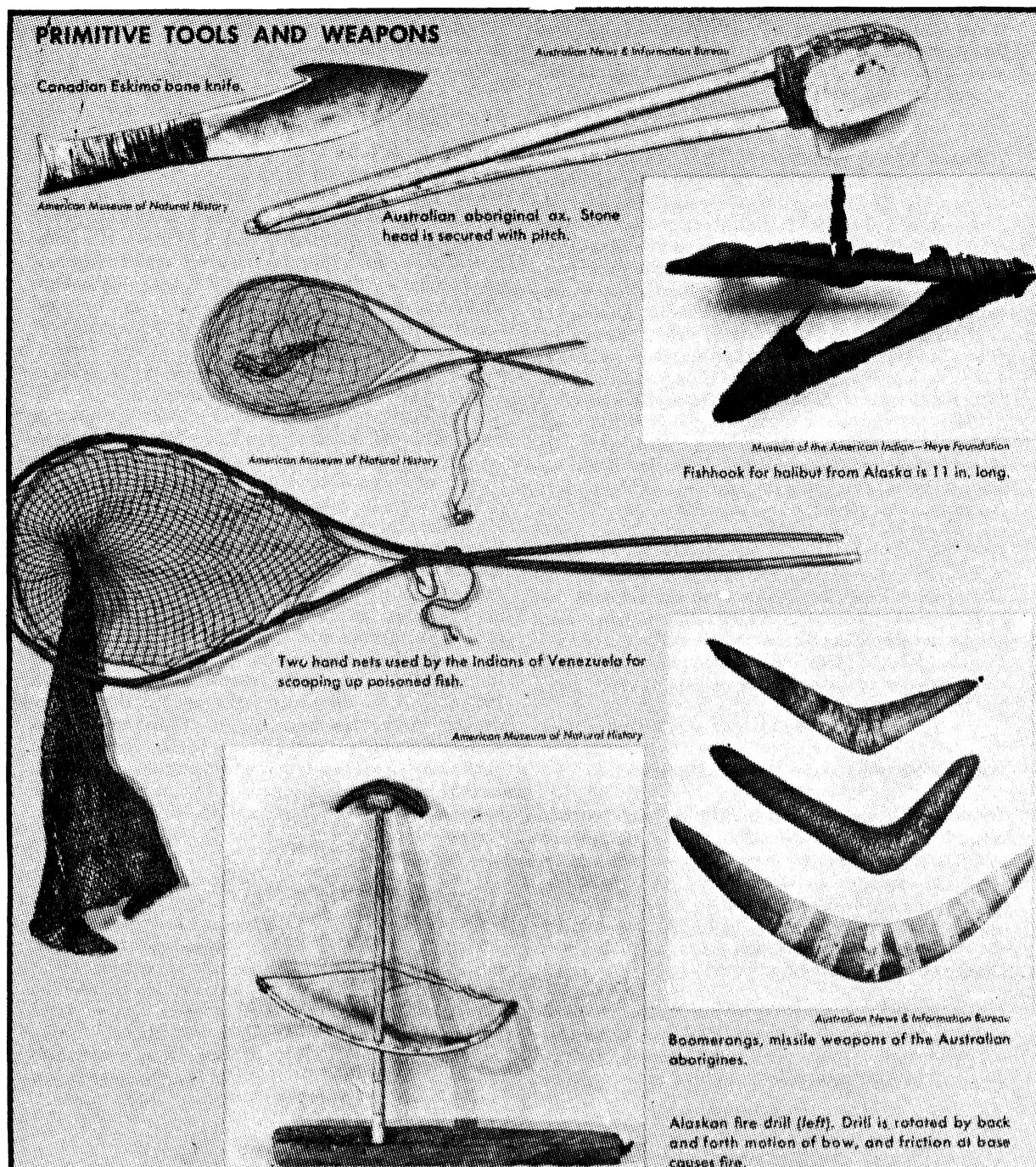
'Programmed' by Our Genes?

Now let us turn to the other question, the part played by genetics in determining our intellect, language, creative capacities, ethics, altruism, and so forth. Are these traits genetically inherited or socially acquired? This too is not a new question. It was formerly posed as "nature or nurture?" Which factor was dominant in human life—our biological equipment or our social milieu? Today the terms of the argument have become: are we "programmed" by our genes (biology) or by our sociocultural environment?

Genetics is a very young science; it is only as old as this century (leaving aside Mendel's buried experiments). So far only the surface has been scratched in exploring and understanding its ramifications. Nonetheless, the popularizers of the Tiger-Fox school have seized upon this science and ethology to press their propaganda that human life is at bottom no less biologically determined than animal life. Since all living organisms are made up of assemblages of genes, genetic determinism has become the latest version of biological determinism. How much substance is there to this thesis?

In the sense that every species on earth belongs to a specific genotype, each is "programmed" by its inherited genes into that type: Primates cannot give birth to ducks nor ducks to primates. The former belong to the highest order, the mammalian; the latter to the lower egg-laying orders. There is a lawful sequence in vertebrate evolution leading from the fish to the mammals.

But even within the mammalian order there are marked distinctions between lower and higher species as reflected in the degree of intelligence of these animals and their corresponding ability to learn and modify their behavior. The least flexible in these respects are



The use of the hand for toolmaking and labor activities awakened and developed brain pathways in the hominids, leading to conceptual thought and speech.

the herbivores (the grass eaters). Above them stand the carnivores (flesh eaters), and above the carnivores stand the primates. Within the primate species apes are superior to monkeys, and humans could not have descended from any other species than the highest of the higher apes, which possessed the greatest flexibility in their learning capacity.

Accordingly, primates in general give birth to offspring that are less rigidly "programmed" by their genes than any of the lower species, with the apes best able to condition their reflexes. By contrast, the specialized insects, which are not in the direct line of human ancestry, are so rigidly genotyped that they are incapable of learning anything at all and cannot modify their stereotyped instinctive behavior the least bit.

However, this whole range of differences remains enclosed within the bounds of the animal world. When we come to humans we encounter something radically new—a dramatic departure from the animal condition.

All animals, including the higher apes, cannot transcend their genetic limitations. Even in captivity, under human influence and tutelage, these limits are fixed—despite the fact that in some species they can be "stretched" to a certain degree.

It took tens of millions of years for the fish to climb out of its aquatic habitat and evolve into the land creature. It took more millions of years for the land mammal to attain to the highest ape species. Yet at the end of this billion-year evolution, the animal limitations were not transcended by any animal species—with one exception.

Unlimited Possibilities of Intelligence

Only one branch of the higher apes a million or so years ago was able to jump out of the animal world and become a wholly new kind of species—human beings. After our ancestors took the road of labor activities, they departed from animal restrictions. With this leap they acquired unlimited possibilities of intelligence and unlimited potentials for progress.

What part has the genetic structure played in this development? The organism and organs of

our primate progenitors had to be preadapted for tool using and toolmaking; that is, for cooperative labor activities to produce the means of subsistence. The vocal organs and brain had to be potentially capable of converting sounds into articulate speech. That was as far as the genetic basis goes for the acquisition of language—or any other specific human function.

Professor Cairns's approach focuses on the necessary *biological precondition* for speech but leaves out the more decisive factor, the necessity to work for a living, which became the *social condition* for passing over from ape sounds to human speech and language. Unless this social-historical conditioning is kept in view, it is impossible to account not only for the formation of language but also its subsequent changes and diversification.

Professor Cairns also does not give enough weight to the interactions between language and conceptual thought that have grown out of social labor. Speaking is always thinking and is indeed its outward expression embodied in words. Both the concepts of thought and the elements of speech were *social* products engendered by the requirements and activities of working for a living.

Each generation has had to acquire these techniques anew by learning from their elders precisely because they are not transmitted in the genes. Although other anthropoids have organs that might produce speech, none except our own ancestors arrived at the power of speech; the others either perished or survived without it. *Homo* alone developed this capacity just as *Homo* alone is capable of systematic laboring activities.

Altruism, in the true sense as the antithesis of egotism, is no more transmitted through the genes than is speech. This moral attitude, which displays conscious consideration and concern for the needs of others, is a learned social trait. It originally emerged out of the requirements of working and living together in mutual cooperation and protection. These traits were fostered by the communal and egalitarian nature of the primitive social organization.

The practice of altruism suffered terrible blows

in class-divided societies, and as Professor Cairns says, it will take a new democratic, classless order to make altruism once again the effective norm in human relations—but on a qualitatively higher level.

This is far from the way the propagators of "pop" biologism see the matter. To Wilson, for example, the genetic programming of insects has endowed them with "societies" that can even furnish models for us. Similarly with language. Since all creatures have some form of communication, by contact, sight, smell, or sound, language for him is not an exclusively human attribute but exists all along the line right down to the bacteria!

This view was refuted recently by several authorities at the New York Academy of Sciences conference on language and speech. According to the September 25 *New York Times*, Prof. Sherwood Washburn said in the heated controversy over this subject: "If you put human brains in the service of chimpanzees, you get things comparable to human language, but no chimpanzee can speak, and they can't be taught to speak. . . . Yet some people here get very angry if you say chimpanzees don't use language."

This did anger the biochemist Dr. Philip Siekevitz, who stated flatly that even "molecules speak to molecules" in the "language" of chemical structure. This chemo-biologizer goes entomologists like Wilson one better by asserting that language "is built into the very structure of the cells." Soon these unrestrained communications theorists will have the stars, sun, and moon speaking to one another!

Social and Political Implications

The question of biological versus social determinism of human culture is not a musty-dusty subject confined to academic cloisters and scientific specialists. It is linked to grave social and political issues. More and more people today are trying to figure out how they have become trapped in a capitalist system that distorts their education, adulterates their food, pollutes the air and water, and periodically plunges them into wars.

They are asking: are we creatures of a preordained fate, moving blindly through life like bacteria or insects and incapable of altering our destiny? Or are we victims of an exploitative society that we can get rid of, as the socialists say?

At one time mythical gods were supposed to preprogram human lives. Now the vulgar biologizers have taken the genes as the pseudoscientific equivalent of the gods and spirits and tell us we are programmed by our genes. Konrad Lorenz, the ethologist, started the parade and then was joined by Ardrey, Morris, Tiger, and Fox. Their writings are cover-ups for the status quo. That is why their falsifications are made required reading in colleges and even in high schools while the genuinely scientific works of Gordon Childe and others are neglected. This pernicious trend has not ceased—for now the prestigious Edward Wilson has jumped on their bandwagon.

A Harvard colleague of Wilson's, the geologist Stephen Jay Gould, last year expressed alarm at this reactionary resurgence of crude biologism. In the April 1974 issue of *Natural History* he had this to say about the venal reasons for the merchandising of their ideas: "They range, I believe, from pedestrian pursuits of high royalties for best sellers to pernicious attempts to reintroduce racism as respectable science. Their common denominator must lie in our current malaise. How satisfying it is to fob off the responsibility for war and violence upon our presumably carnivorous ancestors. How convenient to blame the poor and the hungry for their own condition—lest we be forced to blame industry or government for our abject failure to secure a decent life for all people. And how convenient an argument it is for those who control government and, by the way, provide the money that current science requires for its very existence!"

In my opinion, even the slightest concession made to the views of the biological determinists does a great disservice to students and other seekers for the truth. Humans today are not downtrodden because of their genetic inheritance but by a ruthless capitalist system.

'...All the Problems of Our Planet Will Be Decided on American Soil'

In a 1929 letter, Leon Trotsky addresses the nucleus of revolutionists who later formed the Socialist Workers party. He explains his view of the historic tasks that face socialists in the United States.

To the American Bolshevik-Leninists (Opposition)
Editors of *The Militant*

Dear Friends,

I follow your journal with great interest and am delighted with its fighting spirit. The history of the origin of the American Opposition is itself highly characteristic and instructive. After five years of struggle against the Russian Opposition, it required a journey of members of the Central Committee of the American party, and even of its Political Committee, to a congress in Moscow in order for the first time to find out what so-called "Trotskyism" is. This single fact is an annihilating indictment against the regime of party police rule and poisonous falsification. Lovestone and Pepper did not create this regime, but they are its staff lieutenants.¹ I proved Lovestone guilty of gross ideological distortion (see my pamphlet *Europe and America*).² Under a fairly normal regime that alone would have been enough to finish a man, if not for good, for a long time, or at least to compel a retraction and apology. But under the present regime, to reinforce their positions, the Lovestones need only persistently repeat falsifications that have been exposed. They do this with utter shamelessness, imitating their present teachers, or rather their administrative bosses. The spirit of the Lovestones and Peppers is exactly contrary to the spirit of the proletarian revolutionary. The discipline toward which we strive—and we strive toward an iron discipline—can be based only upon consciously won convictions that have entered into our flesh and blood.

I haven't had the opportunity for close contact with the other leaders of the American Communist party—except, to be sure, Foster.³ He always impressed me as being more trustworthy than Lovestone and Pepper. In Foster's criticisms of the official leadership of the party there was always much that

*In last month's International Socialist Review was published the main resolution of the 1925 convention of the Socialist Workers Party, "The Decline of American Capitalism: Prospects for a Socialist Revolution." (Extra copies of that issue are available for twenty-five cents from the *Militant* business office.) Here is reprinted a 1929 letter from Leon Trotsky, coleader with Lenin of the Russian revolution, to the American Left Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists), the forerunner of the Socialist Workers Party. This letter can help readers to place the goals, policies, and progress of the Socialist Workers Party into their historical context.*

The Left Opposition came into existence in the United States in November 1928, after James P. Cannon, Max Shachtman, and Martin Abern were expelled from the leadership of the American Communist Party on the grounds of "Trotskyism." Cannon had managed to find out what Trotsky stood for while attending the Sixth Congress of the Communist International (Comintern) in 1928, despite Stalin's suppression of Trotsky's views.

The group of American oppositionists became part of the International Left Opposition, which was

organized by Trotsky to combat the betrayal of revolutionary Marxist principles and workers' democracy that originated in the Stalinized Soviet Communist Party and had spread to CPs around the world.

The occasion of Trotsky's letter published here was the first national conference of the American Opposition, held in Chicago in May 1929. At that conference, where this letter was read to the delegates, the decision was made to establish the Communist League of America (Opposition).

At that time the Left Opposition was functioning as an opposition faction of the Communist parties in various countries and of the Comintern, even though most of its members had been expelled from the party. In 1933, after the extent of the Stalinist degeneration of the Comintern had become clear, the oppositionists set out to build a new international and new communist parties around the world. The result of this turn was the founding of the American Socialist Workers Party in 1938, and of the Fourth International.

*This letter from Trotsky was first published in the June 1, 1929, issue of *The Militant*. It will appear in the forthcoming volume from Pathfinder Press, *Writings of Leon Trotsky (1929)*.*

was true and to the point. But as far as I understand him, Foster is an empiricist. He does not want to, or is not able to, carry his thinking through to the end and make the necessary generalizations that follow from his criticisms. Because of that it has never been clear to me in what direction Foster's criticism is pushing him: to the left or to the right of official centrism. We must remember that in addition to the Marxist Opposition there is an opportunist opposition (Brandler, Thalheimer, Souvarine, and others).⁴ Apparently it is this same empiricism that suggests to Foster the form of his activity, which consists in leaning on Satan for a struggle against lesser devils. Foster tries to cover himself with the protective coloration of Stalinism, and by this deceitful route to move toward the leadership of the American party. In revolutionary politics the game of hide-and-seek has never yet given serious results. Without a general principled position on the fundamental questions of the world revolution, and first of all on the question of socialism in one country, you cannot have

serious and lasting revolutionary victories. You can have only bureaucratic successes, such as those Stalin has. But these temporary successes are paid for by the defeats of the proletariat and by the disintegration of the Comintern. I don't think Foster will achieve even those second-rate aims that he is pursuing. The Lovestones and Peppers are much better suited to carry through a policy of bureaucratic centrism; lacking character, they are ready in twenty-four hours to put through any zigzag whatever, according to the administrative necessities of the Stalinist staff.

The work to be achieved by the American Opposition has international historic significance, for in the final analysis all the problems of our planet will be decided upon American soil. There is much in favor of the idea that from the standpoint of revolutionary succession, Europe and the East stand ahead of the United States. But a course of events is possible which may alter this sequence in favor of the proletariat of the United States. Moreover, even if you assume that America, which now shakes the whole world, will itself be shaken last of all, the danger remains that a revolutionary situation in United States may catch the vanguard of the American proletariat unprepared, as was the case in Germany in 1923, in Britain in 1926, and in China in 1925-27. We must not for a minute lose sight of the fact that

the power of American capitalism rests more and more upon the foundation of world economy, with its contradictions and its crises, military and revolutionary. This means that a social crisis in the United States may arrive a good deal sooner than many think, and have a feverish development from the start. Hence the conclusion: it is necessary to prepare.

As far as I can judge, your official Communist party inherited not a few characteristics of the old Socialist party. That became clear to me at the time Pepper succeeded in dragging the American Communist party into the scandalous adventure with La Follette's party.⁵ This shabby policy of parliamentary opportunism was disguised by "revolutionary" chatter to the effect that the social revolution will be achieved in the United States not by the working class but by the ruined farmers. When Pepper elaborated this theory to me on his return from the United States, I thought I was dealing with a curious case of individual aberration. Only with some effort did I realize that this was a whole system, and that the American Communist party had been dragged into this system. Then it became clear to me that this small party could not develop without deep internal crises, which would immunize it against Pepperism and other evil diseases. I cannot call them infantile diseases. On the contrary, these are senile diseases, diseases of bureaucratic sterility and revolutionary impotence.

That is why I suspect that the Communist party has taken on many of the qualities of the Socialist party, which in spite of its youth had struck me as decrepit. For the majority of these socialists—I have in mind the top strata—their socialism is a side issue, a secondary occupation accommodated to their leisure hours. These gentlemen devote six days of the week to their liberal or business professions, rounding out their fortunes well enough; on the seventh day they consent to occupy themselves with the salvation of their souls. In a book of my memoirs I have tried to sketch this type of socialist Babbs. Evidently not a few of these gentlemen have succeeded in masquerading as communists. These are not intellectual opponents, but class enemies. The Opposition must steer its course, not to the

1. Jay Lovestone (1898-) and John Pepper (1886-1937) were leaders of the American CP who supervised the expulsion of Trotsky's supporters in 1928. They themselves were expelled on orders of Stalin in 1929 because of their sympathy for the Right Opposition in the Soviet CP, led by Bukharin. Lovestone later became a cold-war adviser on foreign affairs for AFL-CIO President George Meany.

2. In a 1926 speech, Trotsky publicly denounced Lovestone for grossly distorting what Trotsky had said regarding Anglo-American relations in a 1924 speech. Both speeches were published in 1926 by the State Soviet Publishers as a pamphlet, *Europe and America*. They have also been published in English under the same title by Pathfinder Press (1971).

3. William Z. Foster (1881-1961), a trade unionist who previously had been allied with Cannon in internal disputes in the CP, was the one who brought charges against Cannon for "Trotskyism" in 1928. He became an ardent Stalinist and served as chairman of the CP after World War II.

4. Heinrich Brandler (1881-1967) and August Thalheimer (1884-1948) were leaders of the Communist Right Opposition in Germany, whose policies paralleled those of the Bukharin Right Opposition in the Soviet CP. Boris Souvarine (1893-) was a French opportunist who argued in 1929 that all the oppositionists, left and right, should get together in a common front against the Stalinists.

5. Robert La Follette (1855-1925) was the Republican U.S. senator from Wisconsin who ran for president in 1924 on the third-party Progressive ticket. The CP had captured a convention of the Farmer-Labor Party in 1923. The Ruthenberg-Pepper-Lovestone leadership of the CP adopted the policy of linking this party to La Follette's third-party campaign for the presidency. When this policy was submitted for review to the Executive Committee of the Comintern, the latter declared it to be opportunist. The CP then pulled back from the La Follette candidacy, running its own ticket of Foster and Gitlow.

petty-bourgeois Babbitts, but to the proletarian Jimmie Higgins,⁶ for whom the idea of communism, once they are imbued with it, becomes the content of their entire life and activity. There is nothing more disgusting and dangerous in revolutionary activity than petty-bourgeois dilettantism, conservative, self-satisfied, and incapable of sacrifice in the name of a great idea. The advanced workers must firmly adopt one simple but inevitable rule: Those leaders or candidates for leadership who, in peaceful, every-day times, are incapable of sacrificing their time, their talents, and their money to the cause of communism, are the most likely, in a revolutionary period, to turn traitor or to turn up in the camp of those who wait to see on which side the victory lies. If elements of this kind are at the head of the party, they will undoubtedly bring it to disaster when the great test comes. And those brainless bureaucrats who simply hire out to the Comintern as though to a notary, and obediently adapt themselves to each new boss, are no better.

Of course the Opposition, that is, the Bolshevik-Leninists, may have their fellow travelers who, without devoting themselves wholly to the

6. Babbitt, a middle-class real estate salesman in the American Midwest, was the protagonist of a novel with the same name by Sinclair Lewis, published in 1922. Jimmie Higgins was a rank-and-file socialist activist in the novel of the same name by Upton Sinclair, published in 1918.

revolution, offer this or that service to the cause of communism. It certainly would be wrong not to make use of them; they can make a significant contribution to the work. But fellow travelers, even the most honest and serious, should make no pretense to leadership. The leaders must be bound in all their daily work with those they lead. Their work must proceed before the eyes of the ranks, no matter how few the ranks may be at the given moment. I wouldn't give a cent for a leadership that could be summoned by cable from Moscow, or from anywhere else, without the ranks ever noticing it. Such a leadership guarantees failure in advance. We must steer our course to the young worker who desires to understand and to fight, and is capable of enthusiasm and self-sacrifice. These are the people from whom we must attract and educate the genuine cadres of the party and the proletariat.

Every member of the Opposition should be obligated to have under guidance several young workers, youth from fourteen to fifteen years of age and older; to remain in continual contact with them, help them in their education, train them in questions of scientific socialism, and systematically introduce them to the revolutionary politics of the proletarian vanguard. Oppositionists who are themselves unprepared for such work should entrust the young workers they have recruited to more developed and experienced comrades. We don't

want those who are afraid of rough work. The profession of a revolutionary Bolshevik imposes obligations. The first of these obligations is to win over the proletarian youth, to clear a road to its most oppressed and neglected strata. They stand first under our banner.

The trade-union bureaucrats, like the bureaucrats of pseudo-communism, live in an atmosphere of aristocratic prejudices of the upper strata of the workers. It would be tragic if the Oppositionists were infected even in the slightest degree with these qualities. We must not only reject and condemn these prejudices; we must burn them out of our consciousness to the last trace. We must find the road to the most unprivileged and downtrodden strata of the proletariat, beginning with the Negroes, whom capitalist society has converted into pariahs, and who must learn to see in us their brothers. And this depends entirely upon our energy and devotion to this work.

I see from Comrade Cannon's letter that you intend to give the Opposition a more organized form. I can only welcome that news. It is wholly in line with the views expressed above. A well-formed organization is necessary for your work. The absence of clear organizational relations results from intellectual confusion, or leads to it. The cry about a second party and a Fourth International is merely ridiculous and should be the last thing to stop us. We do not identify the Communist International with

the Stalinist bureaucracy, that is, with the hierarchy of Peppers in different stages of demoralization. At the foundation of the International there lies a definite set of ideas and principles, conclusions from the whole struggle of the world proletariat. We, the Opposition, represent those ideas. We will defend them against the monstrous mistakes and violations of the Fifth and Sixth Congresses and against the usurping apparatus of the centrists, one wing of which is going over to the Thermidoreans. It is all too clear to a Marxist that, in spite of the enormous material resources of the Stalinist apparatus, the present ruling faction of the Comintern is politically and theoretically dead. The banner of Marx and Lenin is in the hands of the Opposition. I have no doubt that the American contingent of the Bolsheviks will occupy a worthy place under that banner. With hearty Opposition greetings, L. Trotsky

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Can Capitalism Plan Away Crises?

Prominent Democrats, labor officials, and economists have called for 'national economic planning'—within the profit system. Can their proposal eliminate inflation, unemployment, and shortages?

By Cliff Conner

News item: "Hubert H. Humphrey, Chairman of the Joint Economic Committee and Jacob Javits . . . are cosponsors of legislation that calls for long-range national economic planning. . . . In introducing the bill, Chairman Humphrey stated that 'it is the most important bill I have authored in 25 years of public service.'"¹

News item: "Henry Ford 2d, chairman of the Ford Motor Company, speaks out frequently in favor of planning. . . ."

New York Times editorial: "Planning may have its flaws and dangers, but the traditional planless approach has already proved its capacity for producing disasters."

Cliff Conner is a former associate editor of the International Socialist Review and a member of the Socialist Workers party. He is coauthor of *Life in Capitalist America: Private Profit and Social Decay* (Pathfinder Press, 1975) and of the pamphlet *Energy Crisis: A Bonanza for the Oil Giants* (Pathfinder Press, 1974).

Wall Street Journal editorial: "Supporters of the economic planning proposal would deny that it is socialistic. . . . But it surely represents a garden variety socialism. . . ."

Henry Ford II, Hubert Humphrey, and the *New York Times* championing "national economic planning"? The *Wall Street Journal* condemning their call as "socialistic"? What is this debate about and what touched it off?

With millions unemployed, inflation raging out of control, a declining standard of living for workers, on-again, off-again shortages of crucial products, deterioration of the environment, city governments and state agencies skirting bankruptcy, and the deepest slump since the Great Depression, it has become widely apparent that something is wrong with the country's system of economic organization.

In face of the growing dissatisfaction, in late 1974 a number of prominent business, academic, and labor figures launched a group called the Initiative Committee for National Economic Planning. The Initiative Committee's stated purpose is to promote a broad public discussion on the need for economic and social planning in the United States and to encourage

legislation to put such planning into effect.

The committee did not have long to wait before its call found reflection in the legislative arena. Hubert Humphrey and Jacob Javits head a list of eleven senators (including several with presidential aspirations) who have introduced a bill entitled the "Balanced Growth and Economic Planning Act of 1975."

The Initiative Committee is co-chaired by economist Wassily Leontief and, United Auto Workers President Leonard Woodcock. Other members and supporters include World Bank President Robert McNamara (a former president of Ford Motor Company and former U.S. secretary of defense); Robert Roosa, a partner in Brown Brothers Harriman and Company (investment bankers); historian Arthur Schlesinger; economist John Kenneth Galbraith; and union officials Arnold Miller of the United Mine Workers and Jerry Wurf of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. This represents an impressive lineup of one wing of American capitalist politics; the list reads like a roll call of the "liberal-labor coalition" that some Democratic party strategists hold so dear.

In its major programmatic state-

ment, "For a National Economic Planning System," the Initiative Committee says:

"Few Americans are satisfied with the way in which the economy is now operating. Unemployment is increasing; prices are rising. Inflation in the United States has become a source of instability in the world at large. No reliable mechanism in the modern economy relates needs to available manpower, plant, and materials. In consequence we have shortages of housing, medical care, municipal services, transportation, energy, and numerous other requirements of pressing importance."

"We have not made it our business to foresee these critical problems and to take steps to forestall them. We do not plan."²

Senator Javits provides this motivation for introducing planning legislation: "Our economy is in its worst state since the Depression. Large scale unemployment—a cumulative loss of real potential output estimated at almost \$350 billion over the next five years."³

Ponder the meaning of this remarkable statistic. An immense amount of wealth—enough to wipe out poverty and hunger, clean up the environment, and begin to provide a decent standard of living for the entire world—could be

produced by the *existing* productive forces in this country, but will not. Why not? Because a large portion of the existing productive forces will not be used. Millions of workers will be denied the opportunity to contribute their labor and skills; billions of dollars worth of factories and machines will stand idle. Javits, then, is admitting that the present mode of economic organization will restrain and hamper production to the tune of \$350 billion—and this is a conservative estimate.

All of this serves to confirm the central tenet of the Marxist indictment of capitalism. Capitalism is fundamentally a system of economic *anarchy* wherein all major decisions of investment, production, and distribution are motivated by the profit interests of competing blocs of capital, privately owned by a tiny minority of the population. As these private interests have diminished in number and grown in power into huge industrial conglomerates and cartels, their battles for profits have assumed titanic proportions, and their social destructiveness has increased apace. This is the source of the economic dislocations plaguing the entire capitalist world today.

The alternative to the economic anarchy of capitalism—socialist planning—was promoted from abstract theory to reality by the Russian revolution in 1917. The abolition of capitalism made possible a new system of economic organization based upon social ownership of the means of production and centrally administered by the state.

In spite of the Soviet Union's bureaucratic degeneration at the hands of the Stalinists, its economic foundations have maintained their essential postcapitalist characteristics to this day. This is what has made it possible for the USSR to register the sustained high levels of industrial growth that transformed it from the relatively backward Russia of tsarist times into the world's number two industrial power. Similarly, the fall of capitalism and the institution of a planned economy in China enabled that country to take the first steps toward industrialization while also—almost alone among underdeveloped nations—solving the problem of periodic famine. These undeniable successes of planned economy stand as living examples of a mode of economic organization that is superior to the self-destructing capitalist anarchy.

Is it a total aberration that some capitalists, with their loyal editorialists and politicians and their subservient labor lieutenants, have begun to raise the banner of national economic planning? Have they been converted to the socialist program?

Voluntary Planning?

First of all, the planning that the Humphreys and Woodcocks propose does not include any provisions for forcing capitalists to adhere to the plan if they don't want to. Hubert Humphrey took pains to make himself perfectly clear on this point: "The Humphrey-Javits bill provides for a voluntary system of economic planning. No authority is planned in the Economic Planning Board or in the Office of the President to order or direct the private sector of

the economy to do anything as a result of a particular approved plan. . . .

"I can categorically state that . . . there is not a single word or phrase in this bill which could be used to expand the government's control over the economy."⁴

In the terminology that has grown up around this subject, Humphrey and the Initiative Committee support "indicative" planning as opposed to the "imperative" planning carried out by the Soviet Union and other workers states. Indicative planning consists of an indication of the direction of government policy plus heartfelt hopes that this will be carried out by the capitalists. What it amounts to is not much more than what Lyndon Johnson called "jawboning."

ors, Bruce Scott and John McArthur, conducted a three-year study of the French system. Scott, who is now a trustee of Penn Central, reports, according to the May 18, 1975, *New York Times*, that "France's Ministry of Finance as well as industry executives generally disregard the plans. When the Government allocates credit or intervenes in the private sector, which occurs often, it isn't done with the plan in mind."

George Hagedorn, chief economist for the National Association of Manufacturers, testified to similar effect at Senate hearings on the Humphrey-Javits bill: "France, Japan and the U.K. (intermittently) have undertaken to prepare national economic plans since World War II. . . . The outcome in those countries must. . . , for the

The example of the American agricultural industry makes this especially clear. The enormous productive potential of U.S. agriculture, if put fully into operation, would generate enough food to feed the entire world population. If that happened, however, the price of food would plummet, accurately reflecting the ease with which it can be produced at the modern level of technology. This would take the *profit* out of producing food.

A government representing the majority—the working people—would see no problem here. It could step in and distribute the abundant food according to need, without regard to price. Simple enough.

But a government representing the interests of profit makers will not usurp the prerogatives of the market. Its solution to the "problem" of falling prices of food because of a "surplus" is to destroy food and food-production capacity.

This is exactly what the American government has been doing almost continuously since the 1920s when a surplus of farm production glutted the market, creating an agricultural production crisis of immense proportions. A sterling example of capitalist "planning" was Roosevelt's intervention during the Great Depression to destroy tons of good food while millions went hungry.

The situation in agriculture is only one example of the general truth that under capitalism, planning and investment in socially needed production and services—private or public—is only undertaken when it will have the effect of keeping profits up. This is key to understanding why the capitalists will fail to realize that \$350 billion in potential production over the next five years (according to Senator Javits's estimate).

At the same time that the productive forces are growing to the point where they *could* provide abundance for everybody, something else happens to block this: capital becomes concentrated into vast monopolies that restrict production in order to keep prices and profits high. In addition, monopoly requires increased intervention of the state into the economy. But this is not for the public good. It is to buttress profits—for example, to subsidize or even nationalize unprofitable enterprises that are essential to the rest of the capitalist economy, or to throw government weight to the side of the capitalists in attempting to keep down wages.

Government-imposed wage controls are a key weapon used by the capitalists in their attempts to introduce "planning" to keep up profits.

Although Nixon's New Economic Policy, introduced in 1971, is formally ended, the attack on workers' wages initiated by the NEP is still rolling on. From 1972 until this fall, the real wages of American workers fell by more than 4 percent, according to the understated official figures of the U.S. Department of Labor.

Here, then, we come to see the real meaning of capitalist "planning": planned scarcity and wage controls for the benefit of the profiteers.

And in fact, we hear Wassily Leontief predicting that the type of planning he has in mind will come about "not because some wild radicals demand it but because businessmen will demand it to keep



The anarchy of capitalism means that factories lie idle if production can't bring in a high enough profit . . .

The French government has labeled its own practice of economic intervention "indicative planning," and some of the American proponents have hailed France as a model of what they would like to achieve here. The French example thus merits attention.

Roy Bennett, writing in the March-April issue of *Social Policy*, provides this overview of French indicative planning: "The mechanism involves the preparation of a basic input-output table of 28 broad sectors into which the economy is divided. The planners engage in detailed negotiations with the 20 percent of French firms who produce 80 percent of the country's output. . . .

"Following debate and negotiation the planners and the enterprises sign 'planning agreements' in which they pledge to operate according to the investment, employment, production, and price stipulations of the plan."

That is the theory. But how does planning based on capitalists' pledges actually perform? Two Harvard Business School profess-

most part, be regarded as an exercise in futility, which had no important direct impact, constructive or adverse, on the course of events. The fact is that decision makers—either governmental or private—have, after a brief interval, paid practically no attention to the goals stated in the successive national plans."⁵

Planned Market Economy?

One of the Initiative Committee founders, investment banker Robert Roosa, pulled no punches when he defined the aim of his brand of national economic planning as to "preserve the essence of a competitive market economy rooted in the motivations of private ownership."⁶

But a "planned market economy" is a contradiction in terms. In an economy based on private ownership of the wealth and means of production, the resources of society will be allocated according to the blind market mechanism—that is, investment for private profit—not by rational planning for the needs of the majority.

the system from sputtering to a halt."⁷

Wage Controls: The Real Substance of Capitalist Planning

It should not be overlooked that the forces now aligned behind the Humphrey-Javits bill are among those who for several years have been loudly advocating "wage and price controls" as the answer to inflation. These liberal Democrats and trade-union tops give lip service to the demand for price controls and "equality of sacrifice," but in reality only wages are held down and all of the sacrifices are demanded of those who can least afford it. It was the Humphreys and McGovern, in fact, with the blind backing of the Meanys and Woodcocks, who created the enabling legislation for Nixon's NEP wage controls.

The liberal economist and Initiative Committee supporter John Kenneth Galbraith, in an interview in the November 3 *U.S. News & World Report*, says he has come to the conclusion that the only way out of the present economic mess is "direct intervention in the wage-price spiral." Then there is this revealing exchange:

"Q In administering your first step—wage and price controls—do you have in mind detailed regulations or merely some sort of Government persuasion?"

"A I would make this a matter of formal law...."

"Q Generally speaking, what would fall under controls?"

"A There was a pretty good approximation to what is needed in the Nixon Administration's Phase II, where control was confined to the trade-unions and the relatively large employers."

Earlier in the interview, Galbraith—who has recently taken to calling himself a socialist—indicated what he considers to be the fundamental problem with the economy: "Unions reach out for gains greater than what can be paid for out of improved productivity."

The primary target of Galbraith's "planning" is evidently the same as Nixon's: curbing the unions and hampering their ability to defend their members' standard of living. Perhaps he thinks his new "socialist" pretensions will make this antilabor program more palatable to workers.

Capitalist planning is the polar opposite of social planning aimed at maximizing the welfare of the population as a whole. Far from offering lasting solutions to the present economic dislocations, the profit-defending operations by the government only intensify exploitation and aggravate the conditions underlying the crisis of capitalist production.

The conflict between the market and planning—between the profit imperative and human needs—means that no capitalist government, be it fascist or "welfare state," is capable of genuine economic planning. At most it may mitigate and temporarily stabilize the anarchy of production—at the expense of the workers—but it cannot eliminate it. As much as the capitalists would love to plan away inflation and depressions, they cannot do so short of surrendering the private profit system. In the final analysis, *Time* magazine was absolutely right in observing in its

July 14 issue that "command planning . . . is the antithesis of capitalism."

A dramatic example of the exercise of this profit imperative came November 5 with British Prime Minister Harold Wilson's announcement of his government's new program. Under the whip of international capitalist competition and inflation, the Labour party government set aside even a pretense of support to adequate government spending for social welfare, in favor of a drive for productivity, profitability, and a wage freeze.

The debate over planning in this country (although at present mostly shadowboxing between indicative planners and free-enterprisers) is not without interest to socialists. The implications of the planning

appealing economic proposals which are general in nature and do not commit them to definite programs. One of the most appealing will be national economic planning."

These politicians will only succeed in this aim if they can get away with dissolving the concept of planning into an abstraction. To challenge them, it is necessary to give the abstract idea some concrete substance. That can be accompanied by proposing and popularizing immediate, practical, and sensible measures to meet head-on the pressing economic problems of working people.

Right to Information

Proponents of the Humphrey-Javits bill contend—and they are absolutely right—that the first step

all bourgeois and petty-bourgeois political tendencies to recognize—at least in words—the need for economic planning. But "the gentlemen 'reformers' [he might have been writing of Leontief and Woodcock] stop short in pious trepidation before the threshold of the trusts and their business 'secrets'."⁸

Breaking across that threshold and opening the capitalists' books is the *sine qua non* of economic planning. Trotsky continues: "The working out of even the most elementary economic plan—from the point of view of the exploited, not the exploiters—is impossible without workers' control, that is, without the penetration of the workers' eye into all open and concealed springs of capitalist economy."

This provides a means of gauging the seriousness of the Humphrey-Javits proposal. This legislation not only limits its "information" provisions to reforms in government statistical methods; it specifically upholds the "right" of private capitalists to shield their financial dealings from public view. The bill warns that "the disclosure of any trade secret or proprietary information or any other information furnished to the Federal Government on a confidential basis by any person . . . shall be a violation of section 1905 of title 18, United States Code."

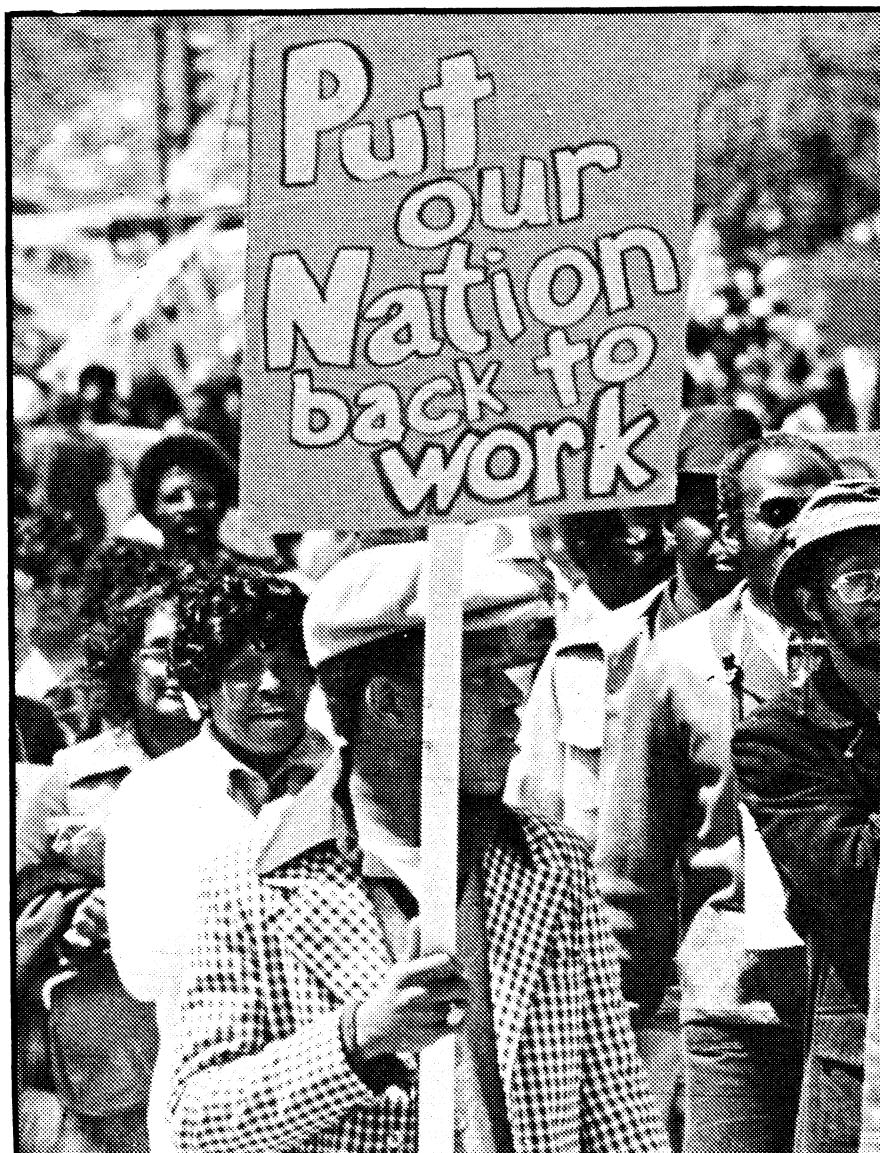
A Few Modest Proposals

In addition to opening the capitalists' financial records by abolishing commercial secrecy, there are other steps toward planning that should be taken without a moment's delay. Since the most pressing economic problem at present is mass unemployment, the government should immediately create a public works program aimed at giving a job at union-scale wages to everybody who wants one. They should not be given useless tasks a la Roosevelt's Works Progress Administration that safeguard scarcity in defense of the capitalist market, but socially useful projects that attempt to overcome scarcity in housing, health care, day care, and education, to name but a few urgent social needs.

At the same time, the length of the standard working day should immediately be shortened by legislative action to six hours from the present eight with no cut in weekly take-home pay. This would share out the available work to all who need it.

Given the persistent inflation, workers' real wages should be accorded governmental protection in the form of a nationwide mandatory escalator provision. All paychecks, welfare checks, Social Security checks, and the like should automatically rise parallel with price rises to ensure that no worker's purchasing power is eroded by inflation—which is in reality nothing but an indirect taxation that redistributes national wealth in favor of the capitalists.

Opening the books of the monopolists, instituting a public works program, reducing working hours with no pay reduction, adding cost-of-living increases to all paychecks—these are all eminently reasonable steps that a government representing working-class interests would incorporate into its initial economic plan. They are measures that subordinate consid-



Dennis Scarla

... while millions suffer unemployment, unable to put their skills to work fulfilling urgent social needs.

appeal can escape the grasp of the Humphreys and Woodcocks. The discussion helps legitimize the idea of planning for the needs of working people. Even though measures of economic coordination, including nationalizations, under capitalism do not solve the problems of working people, they can include some of the technical means for doing so.

The millions of Americans who are questioning and doubting the present economic order will not long be satisfied by jawboning. They will demand real protection against the machinations of the oil cartel, of the agribusiness monopolies, and of the banks that they see strangling municipal finances. They will demand real protection against unemployment and real protection—not wage controls!—against the declining purchasing power of their paychecks.

The May 18 *New York Times* reported: "Democratic and Republican Presidential candidates alike, then, are searching for politically

toward planning is to improve the quality of information about how the economy actually works. Planners, they wisely note, can hardly do their jobs without access to basic economic data.

But they turn the problem on its head. As Leontief sees it, "... private industry depends very much on government information to make private decisions. We should at least increase the annual statistical appropriation by \$250 million per year . . . it is an investment worthwhile to make."⁹

The real problem is not that a low quality of statistical information is provided by the government. It is that the capitalist monopolies dominating the economy refuse to reveal vital investment and production data! Behind the cover of their "business secrets" they manipulate prices, supplies, and investments, pull off all kinds of financial swindles, and amass mountains of unreported and untaxed profits.

In 1938, Leon Trotsky observed that the worldwide crash had led

erations of profit to those of social welfare. They are therefore anathema to capitalist interests. Far from seeing them as the sensible and practical proposals that they are, industrialists and bankers would undoubtedly view them as revolutionary.

The capitalist-controlled Democratic and Republican parties, and any government they are part of, will resist and fight to the death against taking these initial steps toward planning in the interests of the exploited. The political prere-

quisites for such planning is a qualitatively different kind of government—a government of workers' representatives serving the interests of the working class.

Hubert Humphrey, Leonard Woodcock, et al will not even whisper the modest proposals outlined above, much less lead the sort of historic battles required to implement them. Workers will have to look elsewhere for leadership than to the liberal capitalist politicians and their labor mouthpieces who raise the banner of national eco-

nomic planning as a cover for a wage freeze.

1. *Notes from the Joint Economic Committee*, U.S. Congress (hereafter referred to as *Notes*), June 20, 1975. Sources for the following three quotations are, respectively: *New York Times*, May 18, 1975; *New York Times*, February 23, 1975; *Wall Street Journal*, June 17, 1975.

2. This manifesto was published, among other places, in the March-April 1975 issue of *Social Policy*.

3. Joint Economic Committee hearings, June 11-12, 1975 (hereafter referred to as "JEC

hearings"). Quoted in *Notes*, July 1, 1975.

4. JEC hearings. In *Notes*, July 1, 1975.

5. *Notes*, July 1, 1975.

6. Statement to a news conference held by the Initiative Committee, February 27, 1975.

7. *Time*, July 14, 1975.

8. JEC hearings. *Notes*, July 1, 1975.

9. *The Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution* by Leon Trotsky, Pathfinder Press, 1973.

BOOKS

The Challenge of the Left Opposition (1923-25)

By Leon Trotsky. Pathfinder Press, New York, 1975. 428 pp. \$15.00 paper \$3.95.

With the publication of *Lenin's Fight Against Stalinism* earlier this year, Pathfinder Press took an important step in making available some of the documentary record of communist opposition to the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Union. That book contained the writings of both Lenin and Trotsky dealing with the earliest manifestations of the Stalinist threat.

In 1922 it became clear to Lenin that the bureaucratic distortions that plagued the apparatus of the Soviet state had begun to be reflected inside the Soviet Communist party. He formed a bloc with Trotsky, the other central leader of the Russian revolution, against the danger of bureaucratic degeneration, which was most clearly reflected in the grouping led by Stalin. Lenin asked Trotsky to lead the struggle for their views at the party congress scheduled for April 1923. However, these plans were cut short by Lenin's final illness.

The Challenge of the Left Opposition (1923-25) traces the next stage in the development of the communist opposition to Stalinism—the formation of the Left Opposition and the beginning of the factional struggle inside the Communist party.

This 1923-25 volume of Trotsky's writings is the first of three that are planned under *The Challenge of the Left Opposition* title. The series will end with Trotsky's exile from the Soviet Union in February 1929. His writings after that period are being published by Pathfinder Press in a series of books titled *Writings of Leon Trotsky*.

The 1923-25 volume contains four pieces that have previously been published as separate books or pamphlets: *The New Course*, *Problems of Civil War*, *The Lessons of October*, and *Toward Capitalism or Socialism?* (also known as *Whither Russia?*). In addition, it contains material never before available in English. Particularly important is "Our Differences," written at the

end of 1924, in which Trotsky dissects the charges against him and the issues in dispute as he saw them at that time.

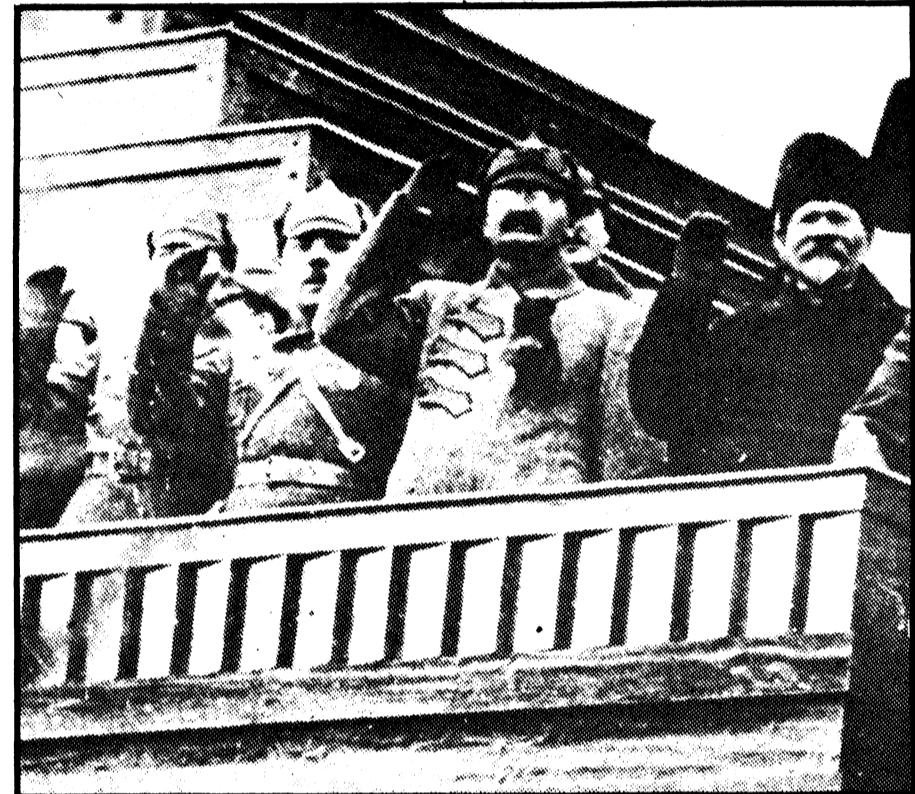
It should be remembered that Trotsky was alone in the central party leadership at this time. Isolated, the object of furious slander campaigns in the press and in the local party organizations, he had to confront a totally new phenomenon. There was no precedent for the development, let alone the bureaucratic degeneration, of a workers state. Moreover, the social process of the growth of a privileged bureaucracy was accompanied, affected, and largely overshadowed by disputes over economic and political policies.

In view of these factors, the objectivity and insight of Trotsky's analysis are all the more remarkable. From the beginning he zeroed in on the basic problems that were to continually reappear at each new stage of the fight. The themes he stressed were the need for democracy in the party, revolutionary internationalism as opposed to the narrow nationalism of the bureaucracy, and the need for economic planning and steady industrial growth.

Of course, Trotsky had no illusions that bureaucratic degeneration could be halted if only the party leadership were changed. A larger objective problem was involved—the backwardness of the economy inherited from tsarism, and the isolation of the fledgling workers state. Trotsky explained in "The New Course," written at the very beginning of the fight in December 1923, "In the last analysis, the question will be resolved by two great factors of international importance: the course of the revolution in Europe and the rapidity of our economic development."

However, this did not justify a fatalistic attitude. "In the same revolutionary situation, and in the same international conditions, the party will resist the tendencies of disorganization more or resist them less, to the extent that it is more or less conscious of the dangers and that it combats these dangers with more or less vigor."

Although some of the material in this book is primarily of historical interest, the parts dealing with the German revolution of 1923—especially "The Lessons of October"—are in a different category. The German crisis resulted in what Trotsky called "a classic demonstration of how it is possible to miss a perfectly exceptional revolutionary situation of world-historic importance." It provoked him to write extensively on the role of the revolutionary party, a question that is no less important today than it was then.



Trotsky (second from right) at celebration of seventh anniversary of Russian revolution.

It is interesting to note in this regard that even the best academic historians of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Communist party deny that there actually was a revolutionary situation in Germany in 1923. This is the position of E.H. Carr, for example, and of Isaac Deutscher. As Trotsky explained long before these historians wrote, it takes a revolutionary to recognize the revolution. "All shades of opportunism are, in the last analysis, reducible to an incorrect evaluation of the revolutionary forces and potential of the proletariat," he says in "The Lessons of October."

In elaborating on this idea, Trotsky points out, "The working class struggles and matures in the never-failing consciousness of the fact that the preponderance of forces lies on the side of the enemy. . . . The enemy possesses wealth and state power, all the means of exerting ideological pressure and all the instruments of repression. We become habituated to the idea that the preponderance of forces is on the enemy's side. . . ."

But during a revolutionary upsurge the psychology of the different classes begins to change. "On one and the same economic foundation," writes Trotsky, "with one and the same class division of society, the relationship of forces changes depending upon the mood of the proletarian masses, the extent to which their illusions are shattered and their political experience has grown, the extent to which the confidence of intermediate classes and groups in the state power is shattered, and finally the extent to which the latter loses confidence in itself."

Putting this question of the psychology of classes into its overall context, Trotsky asked in a speech, "On the Road to the European Revolution":

"Under what conditions is a victorious proletarian revolution possible? A certain development of the productive forces is necessary. The proletariat and those intermediate classes of the population that support and follow it must constitute the majority of the population. The vanguard must clearly understand the tasks and methods of proletarian revolution and have the resoluteness to bring it about. And it must lead the majority of the laboring masses with it into decisive battle."

"On the other hand," he continues, "it is necessary that the ruling class, that is, the bourgeoisie, be disorganized and frightened by the whole international and internal situation, that its will be undermined and broken. These are the material, political, and psychological prerequisites for revolution. . . . And if we are to ask: Were these conditions present in Germany?—I think we would have to answer with absolute clarity and firmness, Yes, all but one."

In Russia there had been a leadership capable of judging the psychology of the masses and mobilizing their power. In Germany there was not.

In conclusion, Trotsky insists after reviewing the events in Germany, "Without a party, apart from a party, over the head of a party, or with a substitute for a party, the proletarian revolution cannot conquer."

David Frankel

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



guarantees 1) that everyone now enrolled will get the necessary clinical experience to meet national standards, 2) that they get this training by the time stated by graduation dates of their respective classes, 3) that there be no increase in the present cost of the nursing program, and 4) that no other department be cut in order to meet the other demands.

After the presentation of these demands the group moved on to the Amherst town common to hold a rally. Nursing students pointed out that 90 percent of the students are women. All of the faculty are women, and their average pay is 17 percent less than that of other departments' faculty.

As the rally ended, a meeting was called to plan for future actions.

Douglas Smith

Amherst, Massachusetts

Correction

Apparently my article on Omari Musa's Los Angeles tour, which appeared in the November 21 issue of the *Militant*, was misleading.

The meeting of the Women's Political Caucus at which Tom Hayden and Omari Musa spoke was not set up as a debate.

Hayden asked to speak before the group, and received their agreement. Musa then asked to speak at the same meeting.

The evening was publicized as an opportunity to hear Hayden, although a number of people expressed interest in the socialist's point of view. (In fact, one of them, a former Hayden supporter, recently joined the Los Angeles Young Socialist Alliance.)

Hayden spoke, answered questions from the audience, and left. Then Omari Musa presented his ideas and opened the program up to questions and discussion.

When I asked him, Musa said he would be glad to debate Hayden anytime.

Joanne Tortorici

Los Angeles, California

Bigger than the bureaucrats

Recently I noticed an article and picture of ex-president Nixon and several "Mafia chieftains" playing golf together. While I will not contest the fact that Nixon is a gangster, I would like to point out another aspect of this situation, as it appears that government and the "Mafia" are privileged.

I am an inmate in a federal prison and live in a cellblock where several reputed Mafia people are quartered. One of them died several weeks ago from heart failure. It was visible to all that he had the symptoms of a poor heart, yet he received no better medical treatment than anyone else.

Many people here are in poor health, including another alleged Mafia member; yet medical treatment is poor.

Hopefully I've shown another aspect of the contradiction: that the state is above even its bureaucrats and that a loser is exactly that, even if one has "connections" by association.

*A prisoner
Illinois*

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

Karen DeCrow visits Moscow

Thousands of feminists across the country today are thinking about and discussing the relationship between socialism and feminism. Many have come to understand that class society and capitalist property relations are irreconcilably opposed to women's liberation.

These women, quite naturally, look around to see what the countries that have abolished capitalism have accomplished in terms of women's rights. They often look first at the Soviet Union, a country with a planned economy brought about by the 1917 Russian revolution. And they look at the Communist parties around the world that represent the views of Moscow.

What do they see? In this country they see the Communist party campaigning against the Equal Rights Amendment. In Italy they see the Communist party opposing abortion rights. And what they see in the Soviet Union is no better.

Karen DeCrow, president of the National Organization for Women, recently took a trip to the Soviet Union, where she spoke to several audiences. She ran head-on into the Stalinist school of censorship.

The Soviet officials told DeCrow that she had to write her speech in advance so they could look it over. DeCrow told them that writing out speeches is not her style. Too bad, said the officials, either write it out or forego the trip to Leningrad.

DeCrow wanted to go to Leningrad, so she wrote her speech out for them. The next thing she knew, two men appeared in her hotel room and ordered her to cut out a short paragraph that was mildly critical of the status of women in the Soviet Union. The order must have been made rather forcefully, because DeCrow deleted the objectionable paragraph.

A few days later she was told by another official of an "error" in her speech. The "error" consisted of DeCrow's opinion that sexism is "a problem everywhere in the world." She was told that every time she planned to use the word "everyplace," it had to be changed to "some places." DeCrow refused. So the translators simply changed it for her!

The Moscow bureaucrats do these things in the name of socialism. It's not socialism, however. It's the antithesis of socialism. And it's no wonder that feminists looking for answers often get confused about socialism.

This confusion is promoted and aided by conscious antisocialists. The *New York Times*, for instance, jumped on the story about DeCrow in Moscow. The headline on their story read, "NOW Head Finds Soviet 'More Sexist' than U.S." The antisocialists use every bit of material they can to say: "See, socialism means totalitarianism." And the Soviet Union gives them material hand over fist.

DeCrow herself fell into the trap of counterposing the lack of democratic rights in the Soviet Union to the "democratic American way." She told the *Times* reporter, "In the United States, you dissent, you fight. I never thought that was an honor or a privilege—it's just part of living. It has never occurred to me that somebody would say, 'Take something out of your speech.'"

Perhaps if DeCrow would think again, she would realize that many an American has been told to "take something out of your speech." The recent FBI and CIA revelations have proven that government harassment of the labor, Black, and socialist movements is aimed at keeping those movements silent.

Capitalist "democracy" is not democracy at all. And neither does democracy exist in the Soviet Union.

Serious feminists will look beyond the two. They will study and learn why the bureaucracy developed in the Soviet Union and how it can be avoided here. They will join hands with the revolutionary socialists here, in the Soviet Union, and around the world fighting for the authentic principles of socialism.

That means fighting for a society free of sexism, racism, wars, and poverty. It means fighting for a society democratically controlled by those who live and work in it. That's what socialism means. Anything else is a phony misrepresentation.

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Junior partners lose out

It was only natural that officials of the municipal unions in New York should expect some sort of formal recognition for their generosity with the pension funds of 265,000 city workers whose interests they are supposed to represent.

It looked as if that recognition was about to be accorded them when Gov. Hugh Carey agreed on November 18 to expand the seven-member Emergency Financial Control Board to give these union officials a seat, a kind of token recognition as junior partners in the business of the board.

At the same time, big bankers' agent Felix Rohatyn, who heads the Municipal Assistance Corporation ("Big Mac"), announced that he too was making a place for a union representative on the nine-member Big Mac Board.

These two agencies, controlled entirely by the ruling class and their money manipulators, have decision-making powers over city and state finances. They determine that city services will be cut and that workers must be fired.

It finally dawned on some clever Democratic party politicians that these agencies ought to be dressed up to give the appearance of "labor participation." The union officials had concurred earlier in the decision to give \$2.5 billion of pension funds as part of the \$6.6 billion package to provide cash for the city over the next three years. This is to guarantee that bondholders will be paid off while workers are laid off.

The idea is to balance the city and state budgets, they say. But it never seems to occur to anyone involved in these "solutions" of the money problem that the way to get money is to tax those who have it, the banks and big business. Nor have any of them yet said that New York would have a huge surplus of funds if the city and state governments stopped

sending their share of collected taxes to Washington for the \$100 billion annual military budget.

As matters stand now the union officials have sunk about as much from pension funds into shaky city bonds as the banks and the federal government combined have risked in this dubious venture.

Victor Gotbaum, who heads District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and who speaks for the Municipal Labor Committee, said the unions would appoint a representative to serve in the antiunion agencies. Gotbaum, modest fellow that he is, said, "We just pointed out that there's nobody on the board now with labor know-how. . . . We didn't ask for parity. All we want is an intelligent voice."

The most "intelligent voice" among the union officials was anyone who had the good sense to remain silent.

Some leaders of the Black and Puerto Rican Caucus in the state legislature met with fellow Democrat Carey in his office to ask that they too be appointed to the Emergency Financial Control Board. If union officials get titles and posts, why not Black and Puerto Rican politicians?

These aspiring politicians have no pension money to squander. But their constituents are the ones who will make the greatest sacrifices under the new austerity program, and that ought to be worth something in the way of recognition.

The high hopes of these ambitious union statesmen and self-seeking Democratic party poverty politicians were suddenly dashed when the Republican majority in the state senate blocked for the time being all such appointments to governing financial agencies.

That is how the junior partners were kept out of the wardrooms and in their more familiar and accustomed positions as errand boys.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Is nothing sacred?—"VATICAN CITY (AP)—Pope Paul VI ordered strict precautions to prevent electronic bugging and filming of the election of popes in the 15th Century Sistine Chapel. . . ."

Royal porker?—Says Prince Charles of England: "Women's liberationists rather annoy me because they tend to argue all the time and start calling you a male chauvinist pig and, frankly, it becomes rather uncivilized." Besides, who ever heard of a blue-blooded pig.

Shed a tear—A Washington, D.C., doctor told a medical symposium of a possible link between tear gas and skin



'No, they weren't corporate pigs, or fascist pigs! They were just pigs!'

cancer. He reported that twelve D.C. policemen who developed skin cancer over the past five years had all been involved in gassing demonstrations in the years 1968-1971. He didn't say how the frequently gassed demonstrators may have been affected.

Making do—Interviewed at his San Clemente estate, Richard Nixon said, "As you can see, we're not in a lap of luxury here, but we get by."

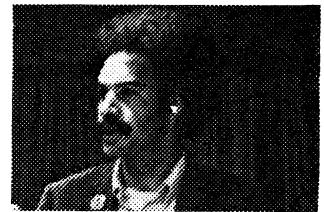
Really heavy—Declaring it "probably the largest fine ever issued in the history of municipal court," a Los Angeles judge really laid it on the Lockheed Shipbuilding Corporation.

Lockheed pleaded no contest to negligence charges in a tunnel-construction explosion that caused the death of seventeen workers. The fine was \$106,250. Lockheed's attorney argued unsuccessfully it should be \$5,000.

Vive la France!—Food critic Craig Claiborne and a friend split a \$4,000 dinner at a Paris restaurant. The meal, won at a charity auction, included thirty-one dishes, nine wines, and a cognac chaser. But they didn't really eat the whole thing. As is traditional, they only sampled, with the leftovers allegedly going to the cooks and waiters. Declared the restaurant owner, "I feel I have labored well for the renown of French civilization."

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



The taming of Eldridge Cleaver

The goal is to take Senator McClellan's head. Now, the process of getting his head has to rely on a strategic technique. I mean, I can't just walk in and take his head and walk out, you see. I have to get past the guards and get past those who might try to protect his pig head. So, to me I think that would mean shooting my way in and shooting my way out, because I wouldn't want to go in, take his head, and just sit there. —Eldridge Cleaver in 1970

Eldridge Cleaver has a right to change and a right to express his new political beliefs. He has a right to return to the United States. The federal government and California authorities are unjustly persecuting him. He should be released from prison and all charges against him should be dropped.

Now...

The taming of forty-year-old Cleaver, the former Black Panther leader known as "Papa" to younger Panthers, has been evident for some time.

His black beret, shades, leather vine, pants, and brogues and the scowl on his puss once made Cleaver a fearsome symbol of Black militancy who, with Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, inspired

thousands of ghetto Blacks in the late 1960s to stand up and say no.

But in recent months Papa has been standing up and saying yes.

This is "a creative era for American democracy." "The status and condition of the Black people has undergone a fundamental change for the better." "I think that our institutions, rather than be destroyed, they need to be perfected, they need to be further developed."

Rolling Stone magazine in September carried a long interview with Cleaver, who said he thinks "the U.S. should be second to none militarily, that we have to strengthen, not demise, our military" against the "islands of power: the socialists."

"I, for one, intend to develop a new relationship with the U.S. military. I'm on a honeymoon with them myself. I love 'em," he said. "Military people are very patriotic people and that's not a bad trait. I'm turning into a patriot."

In an interview on the Mike Wallace TV show Cleaver said that Blacks can now solve "our problems without fighting a war of liberation, simply because the system itself has reacted to the

pressure that was brought upon it."

Papa appeared relaxed on the show, spoke candidly and philosophically. But while he was off playing in the enchanted forest, big, bad wolves were nibbling at his gingerbread house.

"I'm waiting in line" to prosecute him on three counts of attempted murder and assault of a cop, the Alameda County, California, district attorney said after Cleaver was arrested upon his arrival in this country. He also faces charges of parole violation and flight to avoid prosecution. A federal prosecutor has asked that bond be set at \$100,000.

Just before he returned Cleaver told reporters, "I think I will probably be questioned and possibly detained."

During the Mike Wallace interview, Papa said all his woofing way back when about taking heads and offing pigs was "because at the time I didn't see any alternative."

Now Papa has given up altogether. But there are countless Black victims of America's institutions, its military, and its democracy who believe there's gotta be an alternative. They want to send Papa's system packing.

Their Government

Cindy Jaquith



Getting taken for a ride

WASHINGTON—There's a new godfather story circulating on Capitol Hill.

The Don calls in his enforcers and tells them to take the head of the rival family "for a ride." The hit men split, and report back the next morning that the Don's rival is lying on the bottom of the Potomac.

"What!" exclaims the Don. "You killed him? I thought you were just going to take him out for some pizza!"

If we are to believe Sen. Frank Church (D-Idaho), Dons and presidents have many problems in common. One of the biggest is that they are always misunderstood. When they say they'd like one of their enemies "eliminated," incompetent subordinates get carried away and start shooting.

This absurd conclusion, drawn by the Senate intelligence committee in its assassination report, is belied by the rest of the report's contents.

The report pulls back the curtain on the world of capitalist "statecraft," where presidents, generals, and cabinet members get together to discuss how to sabotage revolutionary struggles in the colonial world, "what would happen if so-and-so were dead," and whether shellfish poison works better than high-powered rifles.

After quoting from the minutes of these discussions, citing CIA cablegrams, and detailing more than a dozen murder plots, the committee then concludes that it doesn't know whether the CIA killers had "explicit authorization from the President!" Perhaps, the committee suggests, "words of urgency which may have meant killing to the former, may have meant nothing of the sort to the latter."

Were the "words of urgency" from John Kennedy—conveying his hatred for Fidel Castro and the Cuban revolution—really "misunderstood" by the men at CIA who put out a contract on the Cuban leader? Not according to much of the testimony gathered by the committee.

William Harvey, who directed the assassination efforts against Castro for a time, understood exactly where his orders were coming from. "I was completely convinced during this entire period that this operation had the full authority of the White House, either from the president or from someone authorized and known to be authorized to speak for the president," he told the senators.

In fact, all evidence points to the conclusion that the CIA was not moving fast enough on the murder

plot to suit the Kennedy White House.

Past CIA director Richard Helms testified that Kennedy and his brother Robert, who was attorney general, frequently complained, "Can't you fellows find some way to get rid of Castro and the Castro regime?"

An assistant to Harvey told how Richard Bissell, a central architect of CIA attacks on Cuba, was "chewed out in the Cabinet Room of the White House by both the president and the attorney general for, as he puts it, sitting on his ass and not doing anything about getting rid of Castro and the Castro regime."

And if there was any "confusion" over what Kennedy meant when he said "get rid of Castro," then-defense secretary Robert McNamara cleared it up at an August 10, 1962, high-level meeting. According to one official who was present, "McNamara got up to leave during a discussion of how to get rid of Castro and said, 'The only way to get rid of Castro was to kill him.'"

At that point, Bissell interjected, "Oh, you mean Executive Action."

No, he just meant Kennedy wanted Castro taken for a ride.

But fails to indict

Grand jury rips Daley's cops for spying, terror against dissenters

By Dan Caine

CHICAGO—"The evidence has clearly shown that the Security Section of the Chicago Police Department assaulted the fundamental freedoms of speech, association, press and religion, as well as the constitutional right to privacy of hundreds of individuals."

"Evidence including testimony of police officers, established without question that certain members of the Chicago Police Department's Security Section committed criminal acts in order to gather intelligence data."

These were among the major conclusions of a Cook County grand jury investigation made public November 10.

Despite the clear evidence of illegal acts, however, the grand jury, at the urging of State's Attorney Bernard Carey, failed to return a single indictment.

The grand jury probe was begun in the wake of revelations that Chicago cops and federal spy agencies had conspired with ultraright terrorists to harass and intimidate the Socialist Workers party, the Young Socialist Alliance, Black community groups, civil libertarians, and others.

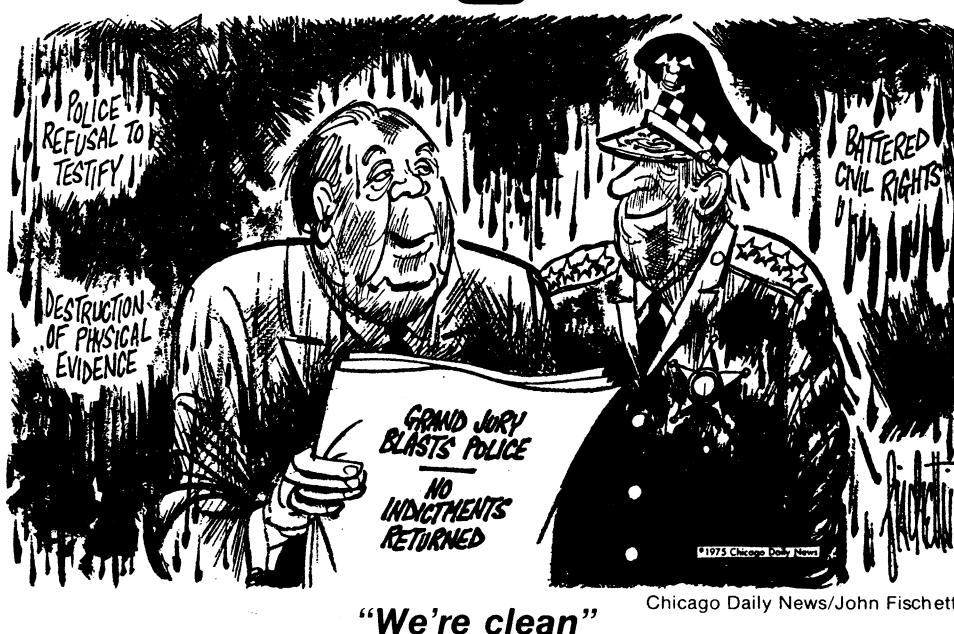
The SWP and YSA have filed a lawsuit charging that the Legion of Justice, which carried out a series of armed attacks and burglaries against the socialists in 1969 and 1970, was organized, financed, and directed by the Chicago cops and the 113th Military Intelligence Group of the U.S. Army. (For full details, see the *Militant*, September 26, 1975.)

The report of the grand jury directly confirms the charges in this suit.

The report states: "There is no question that some members of the Security Section maintained a close working relationship with the Legion of Justice. Our conclusion is not based solely upon the testimony of former members of the Legion of Justice, but rather on the totality of evidence presented to this Grand Jury."

The report continues: "The Legion of Justice burglarized offices of various organizations during the time when such organizations were subjects of intensive surveillance and harassment by the Security Section. Officers of the Security Section also witnessed acts of violence by the Legion of Justice against members of these organizations, but failed to come to the aid of the victims."

The grand jurors concluded that the



Chicago Daily News/John Fischetti

cops "either condoned or directed" the Legion attacks.

The grand jury pinpointed what it found to be "a close working relationship between the Chicago Police Department's Security Section and federal intelligence agencies."

From 1969 to 1971, the cops were in "almost daily contact" with the 113th Military Intelligence Group, then based in Evanston, Illinois. This army unit "planned and conducted intelligence gathering operations in direct cooperation" with Mayor Richard Daley's cops.

However, the grand jury was told by "a high ranking intelligence officer" of the army, "crucial records and documents had been destroyed."

Intelligence data were also "routinely funneled" to the FBI.

The grand jury also pointed out that as much as \$779,000 in federal funds was given to the Chicago cops' spy operation between 1972 and 1974.

Representatives of the Committee for Defense Against Terrorist Attacks (DATA), which is backing the socialists' suit, met with Assistant U.S. Attorney Anthony Volukas on November 12 to demand a federal investigation of the violations of civil rights documented in the report.

DATA committee spokesperson Morris Starsky also announced plans to subpoena the testimony and evidence presented to the grand jury as well as the files transmitted by the Chicago cops to federal agencies. The committee will seek a court order barring any further destruction of evidence by either the cops or federal officials.

The Daley machine, like its counterpart in Washington, has long tried to justify police infiltration and spying by saying it is necessary to prevent violence on the part of dissident groups. In one of its most important conclusions, the grand jury found this contention "totally rebutted" by the evidence.

The report said, "The Grand Jury cannot emphasize strongly enough that none of the testimony indicated even the slightest presence of any type of criminal activity with the various community groups under scrutiny."

Violence—who's responsible?

In fact, the grand jury found that the police spies did their best to provoke acts of violence.

In one instance, which the report terms "one of the most bizarre," a cop "became the president of an organization and in that capacity urged members to commit acts of violence. That officer specifically urged members to shoot Chicago Police Officers. He even demonstrated the most strategic placement of snipers in downtown Chicago"

The grand jury cited instances in which cops "were present when acts of violence were committed against peaceably assembled individuals. These officers took no action to prevent the acts of violence or to arrest the guilty. In fact, on other occasions members of the Security Section tried to incite these same individuals to violence"

The report also documented widespread "illegal electronic eavesdrop-

ping." One cop who admitted operating illegal phone taps said his instructions were, "Don't get caught." When the grand jury subpoenaed records of the electronic surveillance, it was informed that they had been "routinely destroyed."

In one case, a Chicago cop admitted he had "illegally entered the Chicago offices of a presidential candidate, and removed records and office equipment in order to disrupt his campaign." The identity of the candidate was not mentioned in the report.

The interest of the cop spies focused not only on members of suspected groups, but on individuals who had anything to do with them. "Police officers, while on surveillance, reported the license numbers of all automobiles in the vicinity of a targeted community group meeting."

One cop "testified that it was his practice to list any person who attended two public meetings of an organization as a member of that organization. The conclusion that this person was a 'member' of the organization was forwarded as a *fact* to the FBI." (Emphasis in original.)

A special area of interest was in records of financial contributors to organizations viewed as "suspect." The grand jury included samples of the type of records compiled:

"John Smith . . . financial contributor to subject organization."

"Jane Roe . . . Communist sympathizer."

"John Jones . . . anti-police attitudes."

The Socialist Workers campaign committees in Chicago and around the country are engaged in legal battles against laws forcing them to disclose lists of contributors. They point out that disclosure merely facilitates the work of government agents who are out to harass and intimidate individuals for exercising their constitutional rights. The grand jury's report adds substantial new weight to the socialists' contention that these disclosure laws are unconstitutional.

Why no indictments?

The failure of the grand jury to return indictments flies in the face of the evidence it compiled. The report cited such feeble excuses for this inaction as the fact that "crucial physical evidence" had been destroyed; that the statute of limitations had expired on some crimes; and that the guilt of high-ranking officials would be "obscured by a criminal trial of a few patrolmen."

The Chicago *Sun-Times* editorialized on November 12, "The grand jury said it did not indict because that would draw attention away from the systematic seriousness of the problem. That was well-meaning. It was also non-sense."

Patricia Grogan, a spokesperson for the SWP, appeared on a WTTW-TV Public News Center broadcast to respond to the grand jury report.

Grogan called the lack of indictments a "colossal cover-up" and "a slap in the face to the victims of these attacks." She urged the broadest possible support to the socialist suit as well as to similar actions brought by the Alliance to End Repression and the American Civil Liberties Union "to bring to light the full extent of police and government violations of civil rights and to put an end to the use of police terror against the free exercise of our legal rights."

Hizzoner: 'Just politics'



'SHOOT TO KILL' DALEY: Vows more of the same.

CHICAGO—The response by the Democratic machine to the grand jury report documenting illegal police spying and violence was typical of the reactionary mentality of Mayor Richard "shoot to kill" Daley.

Police Supt. James Rochford crowed that the grand jury's refusal to issue indictments cleared the police of any wrongdoing. When asked if the refusal of police officers to testify indicated guilt, he replied, "What did you expect them to do? Confess?"

Judge Richard Fitzgerald accused the grand jury of violating the law by making the report public.

And hizzoner himself blasted the

grand jury investigation as "political from its very inception." "The whole thing was built up with the help of the press" to discredit the cops, he charged.

"You can't have a good police department anyplace without opportunity for good surveillance," said Daley. "What about bombings across the nation?"

When it was pointed out that the grand jury had specifically found the targeted groups not to be involved in illegal activities, the mayor responded: "These organizations are fine and legitimate. But what is the matter with [the police] having people in there?"

By Harry Ring

LOS ANGELES—It is now nearly three months since California's new farm labor law went into effect, providing for secret-ballot union representation elections for field hands. In the elections, the United Farm Workers have piled up an impressive vote in the face of formidable odds.

The UFW has been pitted in the elections against the combined forces of California's rich and powerful agribusiness interests and the corrupt officialdom of the Teamsters union.

Flouting the terms of the new law, the grower-Teamster alliance has used every kind of dirty trick to thwart a democratic decision in the elections.

This was confirmed by the *Los Angeles Times*, no friend of the Farm Workers, which reported Septem-

Despite these illegal acts, the UFW has piled up a wide margin in the elections. These results confirm that the United Farm Workers is the authentic voice of California's superexploited *campesinos*.

Even with this, though, another question remains to be answered. Is the new California Agricultural Farm Labor Relations Act proving advantageous to the farm workers' cause?

Why law was enacted

In thinking this through it might be useful to consider first why the law was enacted.

One answer might be that California Gov. Edmund Brown, principal architect of the law, is a friend of the United Farm Workers, or at least that he values the campaign support that he received from UFW leaders. But that really is too simple an answer. To begin with, in office Brown is proving himself to be a hard-nosed enemy of labor.

they availed themselves of the services of the corrupt Teamster bureaucrats. They signed backdoor "sweetheart" contracts and blandly announced that the Teamsters, not the UFW, now "represented" the field workers.

But it proved to be not that easy. There were fiercely fought UFW-led strikes in the grape vineyards. Since then there have been almost continuous, often spontaneous, walkouts in the lettuce fields and among strawberry pickers and a host of others.

Perhaps most important, the boycott was renewed. A recent Harris poll showed that seventeen million Americans have stopped buying scab grapes. Fifteen million are not buying lettuce, and eleven million people are boycotting Gallo wine. Clearly the growers are paying a heavy price for their union-busting endeavor.

The continuing militancy in the fields and the strength of the boycott were the primary factors leading to enactment of the new California farm labor law.

'Peace in the fields'?

When Brown signed the measure, he hailed the legislature for passing a law that would "bring peace to the fields." So far, the governor's estimate has not been borne out. Despite pressure to the contrary, the UFW has refused to call off the boycott, with Chávez declaring it will continue until "the ink is dry on the contracts."

But there is little question that the growers supported the bill expecting that in fact it would bring "peace" to the fields. That is, they assumed the UFW would become hopelessly entangled in a rigged election procedure and, over time, it would be whittled down to impotence.

When the actual terms of the law are considered it is understandable why the growers viewed it as a potential weapon against the UFW. The law does bar sweetheart contracts of the kind that the growers signed with the Teamsters. It requires that no contract can be signed with a union unless it wins the votes of a majority of the workers in a representation election.

But the law also prohibits strikes called for the purpose of compelling an employer to grant union recognition. Further, the law provides that if a union loses a representation election it cannot continue or initiate a boycott of the particular company's product. So, for example, if it is ruled that the UFW lost the recent election at the Gallo vineyards, the union would be compelled to end the boycott of Gallo wine.

The antilabor strictures of the law are further magnified by the opportunity for endless legal challenges of election results.

And there are more problems besides. The principal one is the Agricultural Labor Relations Board created to administer the new law. The members of the board are appointed by Governor Brown. Two of the five members are considered partisan to the UFW, two to the Teamsters. The fifth, the chairperson, is a Catholic bishop who is carefully neutral.

Major roadblock

The board conducts the elections. The board's general counsel is responsible for investigating charges of violating the law under which the elections are held and prosecuting the violators. Here the UFW has run into a major roadblock.

The UFW has filed carefully documented charges of many violations. But the board's counsel, Walter Kintz, simply proceeds like a tortoise, processing only a handful of the hundreds of complaints. Meanwhile, new violations pile up.

The UFW has opened a campaign of letters, petitions, and picketing demanding that Kintz be fired. So far, Brown has not responded to this eminently reasonable demand.

Yet despite the negative features in the law, the UFW has been able to take advantage of its favorable provisions to advance the unionization drive.

Vote totals

As of November 20, the Agricultural Labor Relations Board reported the following totals in farm union elections:

UFW—18,432

Teamsters—9,645

Other—144

No union—5,855

Total—34,076

The UFW has won 168 elections to the Teamsters' 98.

Where farm workers' struggle stands today



UFW organizers, trying to enter fields to talk with farm workers, confront Teamster goons and sheriff's deputies. Despite promises, new farm labor law hasn't brought 'peace in the fields.'

ber 30 that its own independent investigation found "widespread acts of intimidation and coercion" directed against the UFW.

It was further confirmed by the state's new Agricultural Labor Relations Board, the agency established to conduct the union representation elections. Responding to growing protests, the ALRB announced October 16 that it was initiating stringent penalties to cope with widespread grower violations of the new law.

In addition to Teamster thugs, the growers have used their many other resources against the UFW. In Tulare County, for example, an obliging sheriff cooperated in several hundred "citizen's arrests" of UFW organizers trying to exercise their clearly established legal right to talk with workers in the fields.

At Stockton-area tomato ranches, denial of access to workers in the fields was carried out by armed members of the "Posse Comitatus," an ultraright vigilante outfit.

Workers have been threatened with losing their jobs and worse if they voted wrong. Some UFW partisans have been fired. Entire crews regarded as suspect were laid off on the eve of elections.

ALRB looks other way

In a number of cases ALRB representatives have looked the other way or have been directly involved in the dirty tricks.

César Chávez cites the case of one ranch so big that polling booths were set up in several different areas. The grower obligingly offered to have his private plane collect the ballot boxes. The Teamster poll watcher went along for the ride with the boxes. The UFW watcher was not invited.

But more than that, Brown was able to get the farm labor bill through the state legislature only because it also had the support of the growers and the Teamsters. Obviously they were not motivated by concern for the welfare of rank-and-file field hands.

California agribusiness is dominated by powerful corporations and banks. Over the years, agribusiness has brutally smashed each of the many efforts at unionization of the fields. When the UFW appeared on the scene in the early 1960s, the growers responded with the same brutal union-busting tactics that had worked so well in the past.

This time it didn't work.

The appeal of the UFW to the nationalist sentiments of Chicano and *mexicano* workers, the tenacity of the union organizers, combined with the impact of the national grape boycott, brought the growers to terms. In 1970 the grape ranchers and others signed three-year contracts with the UFW. These contracts represented a major gain for the workers. Wage increases were won. Ranch committees and stewards were elected to enforce the contract. Poisonous pesticides were controlled and safety conditions enforced.

Union hiring hall won

Of all the gains, the most important was creation of the union hiring hall, which went a long way toward coping with discriminatory hiring practices. This was particularly welcomed by field hands because it broke the grip of the hated labor contractors on whom they had to rely for work.

When the contracts expired in 1973, the growers decided to try again to destroy the UFW. This time



Militant/Harry Ring

UFW is demanding dismissal of Walter Kintz, counsel to California farm labor board. Kintz is sabotaging investigations of Teamster violations of law.

A law that declares that workers have the legal right to join a union and that they can determine which union they want to represent them can be a significant weapon. For workers in a nonunion situation, particularly those with so little job security as field hands have, joining a union is no small decision. The prospect of facing loss of jobs and being evicted from homes in labor camps necessarily looms large.

It makes a big difference when union organizers can tell workers that the law protects their right to join a union and that employers can be penalized for interfering with that right.

The law has given the UFW a means to challenge the sweetheart contracts the growers have signed with the Teamsters to freeze them out. On a number of ranches now holding such contracts, the UFW has won representation elections, meaning the fake contracts will be voided.

Expanded organizing efforts

The improved situation of the union has also enabled it to expand its staff and put on a significantly broader organizing drive.

For example, while conducting elections in the key Delano grape area, the union was able to assemble a sufficient staff to initiate organizing efforts in a major new agricultural center that has developed just west of Delano.

The gains the union has made since the law went into effect can be seen by simply contrasting the present vigorous state of the UFW to its situation at the end of the summer of 1973 when the Delano picket lines were called off in the face of bloody grower violence and the strikers had to fan out across the country to help rebuild the boycott.

However, if the union comes to rely on the farm labor law rather than on the organized strength of the workers, it will be strangled in the red-tape web of the law.

So far this has not proven a big problem. The UFW leadership has firmly resisted pressure to call off the boycott and let the new law take its course. It has made special efforts to organize elected ranch committees where it has won elections so that the workers will be ready for the strikes that may well be required to compel the growers to actually sign contracts.

Nor, so far, has the UFW leadership ducked the need to put pressure on Governor Brown in demanding proper enforcement of the law. The

UFW leaders supported Brown for election and probably still consider themselves partisan to him. Yet they have not fallen into the trap of directing the pressure elsewhere to avoid "embarrassing" him.

When the Posse Comitatus drew guns on UFW organizers in Stockton, César Chávez properly went directly to Brown demanding action.

UFW stand on 'illegals'

The new law has also proven beneficial in that the election contests helped the UFW leadership to rethink its position relating to the so-called illegal workers from Mexico. Since 1973 these undocumented workers were widely used as strikebreakers.

But rather than undertaking the necessary job of reaching out to and organizing these superexploited workers, Chávez reacted by joining the cry for their deportation. This seriously weakened the union's authority in the urban Chicano community and among partisans of the union throughout the country.

And it served only to divide the workers in the field, pitting "legal" against "illegal," a situation the growers could only relish.

But as a simple matter of winning a majority in elections it was necessary to solidarize with the undocumented workers. This the UFW is now doing. It is organizing these workers and seeking to defend them against grower- and Teamster-inspired deportations.

This has strengthened the union's position not only with the undocumented workers but also with the many other workers who stand in solidarity with them. For example, at the West Foods ranch in Oxnard, a group of pro-UFW workers without papers were deported on the eve of a representation election. They were openly fingered by Teamster agents.

But the other workers were so angered that even with the loss of the votes of the undocumented workers the count was 136 for the UFW against 39 for the Teamsters.

As one UFW staff member put it on the eve of that election, "Around here, anyone who calls *la migra* is dead."

Militancy in fields

But while the law has given an added impetus to the union drive, it is the militancy of the field workers, the tenacity of the UFW, and breadth of public support that account for the present union gains.

The UFW is proving a remarkable confirmation that traditional business unionism is obsolete. This tiny, beleaguered union is surviving against immense odds that would have proven too much for bigger, more affluent unions.

This is because the UFW functions as *la causa*—the voice of the oppressed Chicano, Filipino, and Arab workers who seek not only another few cents an hour but also dignity and justice.

Some union officials and occasional "wise" labor commentators offer the UFW the sage advice that it would do better to be less of a "movement" and more of a traditional union. If the UFW had heeded that advice it would have been dead long ago.

Foot-in-mouth disease

To compete with the United Farm Workers in the elections, the Teamsters have tried to create the image of also being a "Chicano" union, going so far as hiring some token Mexican-American staffers and putting out a few leaflets in Spanish.

But the racism of the Teamster tops is so flagrant that they remain oblivious to how much it hangs out.

For example, the October 1 issue of the *Southern California Teamster* complained—with as much ingratuity as inaccuracy—that the Agricultural Labor Relations Board was "biased" against the Teamsters and for the UFW.

One example cited was "cancellations of elections on a Mexican holiday when they had been allowed on Admissions Day, a legal California holiday."

The "Mexican holiday," widely celebrated in the Southwest, was September 16, Mexican Independence Day. "Admissions Day" celebrates the incorporation of California into the United States after being ripped off from Mexico.

There is still a bitter struggle ahead, and the union will be successful only if it has no confidence whatsoever in Brown or any other capitalist politicians, but in the initiative and action of its own ranks. Within this framework, there are things the union could be doing that would make its cause more effective.

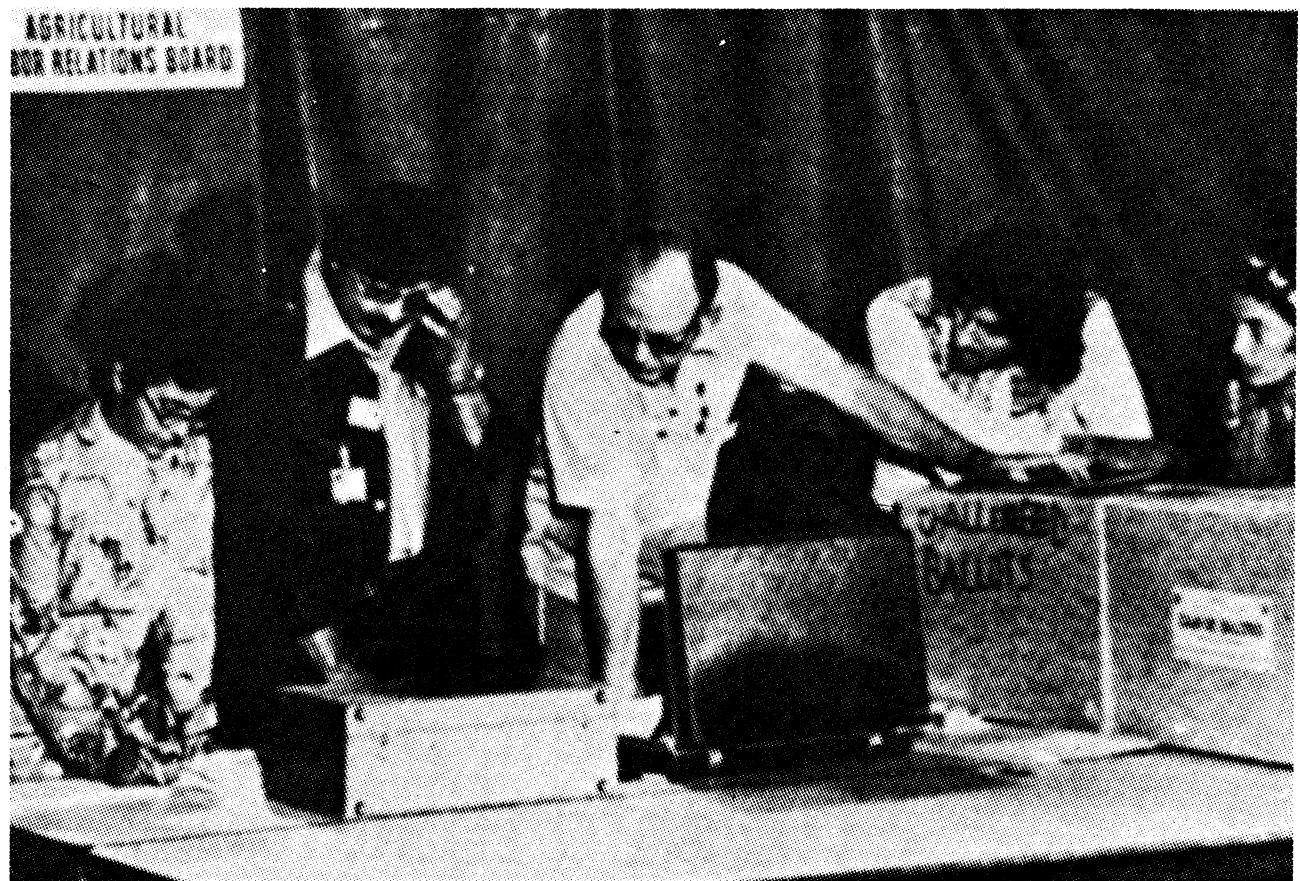
By appealing to friends and supporters in the AFL-CIO unions, the UFW could bring pressure to bear to compel the federation to actively join the struggle.

The AFL-CIO is officially on record in support of the UFW boycott. But this support has been largely limited to resolutions and official statements. In a scandalous default of responsibility, the AFL-CIO leadership has not mobilized the massive power of the union movement behind the UFW and the boycott. Such a mobilization could add major, even decisive, reinforcements to the side of *la causa*.

The UFW could do more profitable organizing work in the barrios of the Southwest and on campuses with Chicano students. Effectively mobilized, the Chicano population would be a veritable powerhouse of support for the UFW.

More systematic work to bring the union's side of the story to the public is needed. The boycott could be made even stronger with more consistent, visible, large demonstrations at markets and other public places. The specific boycott targets could be more clearly spelled out.

But a single point emerges most clearly of all. Through the United Farm Workers, the long exploited and oppressed field hands are demonstrating an inspiring capacity for struggle. By their efforts they are contributing to the cause of all those who fight for justice and human progress. In return, they surely deserve the fullest support.



Farm workers' ballots being counted. Despite illegal acts by Teamster-grower forces, UFW has piled up wide lead in elections.

'Sixth government' in Portugal hangs by thread as workers continue mobilization

By David Frankel
From Intercontinental Press

The sixth provisional government of Portuguese Premier José Pinheiro de Azevedo is hanging by a thread. On November 20 the Portuguese cabinet announced it would suspend all activities until President Francisco da Costa Gomes, who is also the chief of staff of the armed forces, gave it, in Azevedo's words, "the minimum conditions needed to govern."

Azevedo's move came in response to two big defeats suffered by his regime. On November 14, after a call for troops was ignored, Azevedo had to give in to tens of thousands of striking construc-

Lisbon area rejected the change, the move was suspended.

The SP and PPD are attempting to evade the fact that the government they participate in is growing increasingly unpopular because it is attempting to solve the capitalist economic crisis at the expense of the masses. That is what is behind the charge that Carvalho and others like him were behind the government's setback at the hands of the construction workers, and the claim of the SP leaders that the construction workers were "manipulated" by the CP and other left-wing groups.

But the workers knew exactly what

Black workers are concentrated in the construction industry."

Although slogans identified with the CP and various ultraleft groups were shouted over loudspeakers, Foley reported, "such slogans had only a weak echo. The only slogan I saw picked up with any fervor was 'Down with reaction.' That came after the activists handling the loudspeaker announced that the union headquarters in Oporto had been attacked."

Foley gave some background on the construction workers' struggle. "The determination and militancy of this brutally exploited and never before organized section of workers were as

The British *Financial Times* commented on this November 15, saying, "The strikers' victory has driven a coach and horses through plans to introduce severe wage restraint as part of the economic austerity program [of the Azevedo regime]."

A report from Lisbon in the November 15 *London Times* noted, "The construction workers' campaign has graphically demonstrated the weakness of a government that cannot risk attempting to use force to impose its authority and has probably paved the way for similar industrial action by other groups."

One military leader reflecting on the problems faced by the Armed Forces Movement (MFA—Movimento das Forças Armadas) was quoted by *New York Times* correspondent Maryvne Howe in a November 18 dispatch. As he saw it, "The basic trouble is that the revolution has not been able to establish institutions with nationwide credibility and authority and so the people believe they have the right to take policy-making into their own hands."

Who Will Rule?

The question of "policy making"—that is, in the last analysis, the question of who will rule Portugal—is at the bottom of the current crisis, just as it has been at the bottom of every major development in Portugal since the overthrow of Caetano in April 1974.

From the very beginning, the officers of the MFA have done everything in their power to prevent the masses from taking "policy-making into their own hands." The real government of Portugal—the MFA's Council of the Revolution—is not elected by the Portuguese people, its policies are not voted on, its meetings take place behind closed doors.

Neither the CP nor the SP leaders are calling for the masses "to take policy-making into their own hands." Each in their own way has told the masses to support the MFA.

The Social Democrats are supporting the current regime to the hilt. On November 22 the SP announced that it was holding a mass demonstration in support of Azevedo, but only 40,000 persons turned out in Lisbon the next day, according to one bourgeois reporter. This was no more than earlier progovernment actions organized by the SP, and only a fraction of the antigovernment mobilization held November 16.

The Stalinists, for their part, have supported the mobilizations and demonstrations against the Azevedo government, but they have made clear that their aim is to get back their position as the MFA's main partner in the government. To that end they call for a return to the fifth government of Gen. Vasco Gonçalves, which was replaced by the current regime in September.

The CP and SP leaders have established a vicious circle in which opportunist collaboration with the MFA government is complemented by sectarian rivalry between the two largest workers parties in Portugal. This pattern subordinates the real needs and interests of the Portuguese masses to petty parliamentary maneuvers.

After nineteen months of MFA rule, the idea that the masses should wait for the MFA's "revolutionary" government to take care of their needs is wearing thin, as the construction workers showed. It is necessary to break with the military regime once and for all. This is the first step on the road to establishing a workers and peasants government that would truly represent the interests of the Portuguese masses.



Portuguese masses demonstrate. One military leader lamented, 'The people believe they have the right to take policy-making into their own hands.'

tion workers who had besieged his official residence for thirty-six hours demanding higher wages. This was followed two days later by a giant antigovernment demonstration in Lisbon called by unions and workers commissions and supported by the Portuguese Communist party.

The November 20 statement released by the cabinet said, "Recent incidents demonstrate that the Government, which does not have jurisdiction over the armed forces, doesn't dispose of the effective means of assuring the normal operations of Government."

Demands Changes

Speaking at a news conference the same day, Francisco Sá Carneiro, the head of the capitalist Democratic People's party (PPD—Partido Popular Democrático), demanded changes "at the highest level of the military command."

He said, "We believe that the sixth provisional Government and its program is fundamental for the preservation of democracy in Portugal."

The Socialist party, which is the strongest party in the government, took the same line as the PPD, blaming particular military leaders for not backing up the "democratic government." Costa Gomes himself has come under fire, as have Gen. Carlos Fabião, the army chief of staff, and Gen. Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, who heads the Lisbon military region and is chief of Copcon, the military security forces.

The Council of the Revolution, the ruling military junta, announced November 21 that Carvalho would be removed from his Lisbon command and replaced by Capt. Vasco Lourenço. The following day, however, after the majority of the military units in the

they were fighting for, and they did not have to rely on any generals for their victory. That was assured by the strength of their own mobilization and by the ferment in the ranks of the armed forces, which has made the military an unreliable instrument of repression.

The capitalist media in the United States has tried to minimize the power of the workers' demonstrations, claiming that no more than 200,000 construction workers participated in the Lisbon mobilizations. Actually, 70,000 persons turned out on November 12, according to *Intercontinental Press* correspondent Gerry Foley.

Foley went to the São Bento Palace on the night of November 13. "I found all the roads leading to the palace sealed off by strong pickets of construction workers," he said. "On some streets there were double barricades guarded by hundreds of men armed with clubs. A significant percentage of the union activists were Africans;

evident as their indifference to the political slogans of the Stalinists and ultraleftists," he said.

"This was the first national struggle of the construction workers. Fragmented and with little leverage on individual building sites, these workers gained their first major opportunity to mobilize and struggle on a large scale in the context of the nationalizations that followed the abortive rightist coup of March 11, 1975. These created the conditions for bargaining directly with the government to solve the problems and grievances of workers."

Austerity Program

The militancy of the construction workers was spurred by the continuing inflation in Portugal that is eating into their wages. The capitalists will face an especially difficult situation if the example set by the construction workers spreads to other sections of the working class.



Premier Azevedo's demand for dismissal of Gen. Carvalho (right) has intensified military regime's crisis.



'Boston Globe' demands U.S. visa for Blanco

[In the effort to keep Hugo Blanco out of the United States, the buck has now been passed to the Immigration Service. Blanco is the Peruvian revolutionist who was scheduled to begin a national speaking tour here September 25.]

[After reversing its original stand opposing Blanco's admittance, the U.S. State Department sent letters to all those who had deluged its office with telegrams and letters of protest. The State Department letter explains that the Immigration and Naturalization Service is upholding the ban, using the discredited thought-control McCarran Act as justification.]

[He was found to be ineligible for a visa . . . because of his previous terrorist activities and his affiliation with certain communist organizations," the letter states.]

[Blanco has made no secret of his political associations. He is a revolutionary socialist and a leader of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization.]

[But the charge of "terrorist activities" is unsubstantiated, and for good reason. Blanco has consistently opposed terrorism, in his activities, speeches, and writings. The charge is merely a cover-up. The government simply does not want the American people to hear Blanco, a leader of Peruvian peasants and an eyewitness to the U.S.-orchestrated coup in Chile.]

[Blanco's tour was to have been coordinated by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners. USLA is intensifying its efforts to publicize this injustice and to win support for Blanco's right to be heard.]

[The growing success of this campaign is evidenced by an editorial from the November 22 Boston Globe headlined "McCarran Act



Peruvian peasants demonstrate for land. Blanco, a leader of peasant movement, has been denied right to tell American people about repression in Latin America.

should go." Major excerpts are reprinted below.]

A Peruvian Marxist named Hugo Blanco will not be among the speakers today at Boston University's conference on repression and resistance in the third world. Despite a favorable recommendation by the US State Department, the Immigration and Naturalization Service has refused to grant the waiver necessary for a Communist to receive a temporary visa to come to this country on a speaking tour.

And so, once again, our country, which prides itself on the dissenters who made up its founding fathers and on a Constitution that guarantees free speech, is closing its doors to a

recognized spokesman for freedom and dissent.

The list of those whom an outmoded law forbids Americans to greet or hear, even on a visit, becomes increasingly embarrassing.

Our government refused last month to admit an Italian Communist Party chief, Sergio Segre, at the same time that Georgio Almirante, a leader of Italy's much smaller neofascist party was being feted at the State Department in Washington.

Although her husband had been legally elected Chile's president and was killed in a violent overthrow of his government, Hortense Allende had to fight long and hard to gain a waiver to visit the United States. Members of the Chilean Junta have not had similar difficulties in coming here.

The Immigration and Naturalization Act, or the McCarran-Walter Act as it was known when it passed over President Truman's veto in 1952, lists 31 grounds for visa ineligibility. These range from personal histories, past or present, of insanity, indigence and prostitution to such vague concepts as "known or believed to be" prejudicial to the public interest or a threat to national security.

Anarchy, totalitarianism and communism are included under item 28 of Section 212-A of the code, as is advocating the overthrow of government by force or violence.

This was the section applied against Hugo Blanco, an admitted communist who had dedicated his life to organizing peasant unions in Peru and Chile, who has been readmitted to his native land and who has repeatedly written and spoken against the use of violence.

And, since a 6-to-3 ruling by the US Supreme Court on June 30, 1972, there is no official avenue for appeal. The high court decision barred recourse to a Belgian economist, Ernest E. Mandel, despite a lower court finding that sections of the McCarran Act "impose(e) a prior restraint on constitutionally protected communication." And the denial brought comment from the Wall Street Journal in an editorial titled "Legal, but was it wise?"

Sen. Hubert Humphrey told the Globe that "in view of the great concern in this country about human rights and freedom of movement across national frontiers, we may be at an appropriate time now to take a look at political restrictions for entrance into the United States." That is good news.

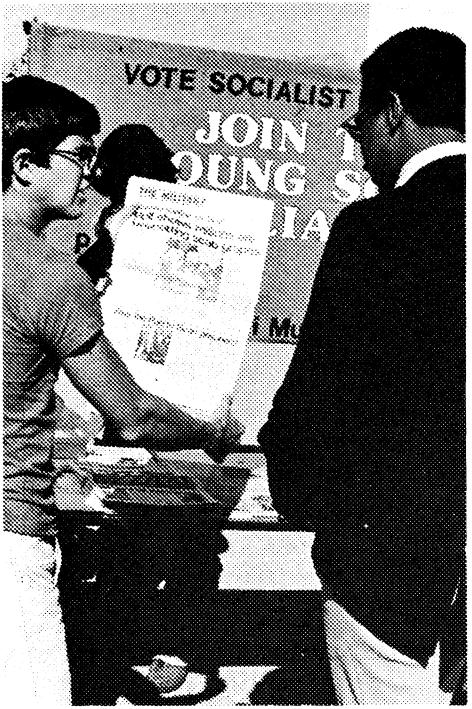
The McCarran Act is a relic from the worst of our witch hunting days. It is so inclusive and awards such arbitrary powers to administrators in the Justice Department's Immigration Service that it should be treated as a joke. Rather than seeking individual waivers under an archaic statute, the Congress should set to work to change the law itself.

Black unionists in Atlanta subscribe to 'Militant'

By Pat Galligan

"There are now over one hundred more young Black workers in Atlanta who read the *Militant* every week, which makes this a very successful subscription drive for us." This is the assessment of Eva Chertov, who has been organizing the drive there.

Atlanta came very close to meeting its goal of 200 this week with the 49 subscriptions they sent in. According to Chertov, subscriptions they have on hand will put them over the top next week.



Militant/David Salter

Forty-five of Atlanta's 193 subscriptions have been sold on the job or in conjunction with union activity, most notably at meetings of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and the Atlanta Association of Educators throughout the course of their struggle with the board of education. Another 61 subscriptions were sold in Black working-class apartment complexes in areas where AFSCME-AAE strike activity was high.

Top seller is AFSCME member Meg Rose. Most of her twenty-three subscriptions were sold to other members of her union.

Nationally, 419 new subscriptions came in this week, bringing the total as of November 24 to 4,834. This is 81 percent of our goal of 6,000.

The State College, Pennsylvania, local of the Young Socialist Alliance was only one subscription away from their goal of fifteen last week. This week, they sent in not one subscription, but eleven. Their current total of twenty-five gives them the best percentage in the country and earns them the top spot on the scoreboard this week.

Pittsburgh met its goal this week. The Socialist Workers party and the YSA there now have a total of 152. Newark also surpassed its goal. Subscription drive director Judi Chertov assures us, however, that we can expect more subscriptions from them.

While Bloomington, Indiana, has a total of thirty-four out of forty, or 85 percent, and seems to be just about on

schedule, looks can be deceiving. The original goal of the YSA there was twenty subscriptions. Recently, the local decided to double their goal and shoot for forty.

Figures for sales of the November 14 *Militant* are incomplete. Next week, we will report on these sales and print a scoreboard for sales of the November 21 issue.

Subscription scoreboard

Area	Goal	Sent in	%	Cleveland	200	99	50
State College, Pa.	15	25	167	Logan, Utah	20	9	45
Cincinnati	10	15	150	Lower East Side N.Y.	150	60	40
East Lansing, Mich.	10	12	120	Lexington, Ky.	15	6	40
Philadelphia	150	177	118	Santa Barbara, Calif.	15	6	40
Newark	50	54	108	West Side L.A.	150	51	34
Oakland/Berkeley	175	183	105	Austin, Tex.	15	5	33
Pittsburgh	150	152	101	Portland, Ore.	100	31	31
Boston	150	147	98	Central-East L.A.	160	46	29
Atlanta	200	193	97	Tucson, Ariz.	30	6	20
Baltimore	75	71	95				
Milwaukee	125	116	93				
San Diego	125	113	90				
Louisville	10	9	90				
San Jose	75	66	88				
Washington, D.C.	200	174	87				
Houston	200	170	85				
Bloomington, Ind.	40	34	85				
New Orleans	50	40	80				
South Side Chicago	100	79	79				
West-North Chicago	100	75	75				
Ann Arbor, Mich.	15	11	73				
Denver	125	86	69				
Upper West Side N.Y.	150	100	67				
Seattle	150	99	66				
San Francisco	150	91	61				
St. Louis	125	76	61				
Brooklyn, N.Y.	150	88	59				
Twin Cities	150	81	54				
Detroit	175	93	53				
Edinboro, Pa.	40	21	53				
Albany, N.Y.	15	8	53				
Madison, Wis.	50	26	52				
				Total	6,000	4,834	81
				Should have		5,200	87

Calendar

BOSTON

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN BANQUET AND RALLY. Featured speaker: Peter Camejo, SWP presidential candidate. Sat., Dec. 6. Dinner—7 p.m.; rally—9 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (across from South Station), Third Floor. Donation: \$4—banquet and rally; \$1—rally only. Ausp: Boston SWP campaign committee. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

BROOKLYN

YANKEE IMPERIALISM IN PANAMA: YESTERDAY AND TODAY. A panel discussion. Fri., Dec. 5. 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence (near A & S). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

HOUSTON

THE MYTH OF WOMEN'S INFERIORITY: ANTHROPOLOGY TAKES ANOTHER LOOK. A review of the book *Woman's Evolution*. Fri., Dec. 5. 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

ART AND SOCIAL STRUGGLES. Speaker: David Prince, SWP. Fri., Dec. 5. 8 p.m. 4040 W. Washington Blvd. Suite 11 (at Washington Square Shopping Center). Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 732-8196.

MILWAUKEE

ZIONISM, RACISM, AND THE MIDEAST ACCORDS. Speaker: Bernie Senter, SWP candidate for mayor. Fri., Dec. 5. 8 p.m. 207 E. Michigan St. Room 25. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 289-9340.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

THE ROOTS OF ZIONISM AND THE UN RESOLUTION. Speakers: Ike Nahem, YSA; and others. Fri., Dec. 5. 8 p.m. 2726 Broadway (at 104th St.). Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

PHILADELPHIA

GAY RIGHTS: WHY WE NEED INTRO 1275. Speakers: Sue Prue, Joan Whyte, and Philip Janison, Gay Activists Alliance; John Ratliff, SWP. Fri., Dec. 5. 8 p.m. 1004 Filbert St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) WA5-4316.

...N.Y.

Continued from page 5

can't let them divide us, for then they will kill us."

Other speakers were Arturo Rivera of the Federación Universitaria Socialista Puertorriqueña (FUSP), Sam Manuel, and Ramón Jiménez of Hostos Community College.

Hostos, the only bilingual college on the East Coast, is located in the predominantly Puerto Rican South Bronx. Won through community

struggles in 1968, it is now threatened with closing. On November 19 the Community Coalition to Save Hostos sponsored a march of about 1,000 people to protest the closing.

The Hostos action drew support from the South Bronx Community Development Corporation, United Bronx Parents, U.S. Rep. Herman Badillo, day-care centers in the area, nurses from Lincoln Hospital, and students from Roberto Clemente High School, who walked out of classes to join the march.

Toward the end of the board of higher education rally November 24, two ultraleft, sectarian groups, the Progressive Labor party and the Spartacist League, tried to disrupt the picket line and break into the board meeting.

This provocative move was opposed by the overwhelming majority of the demonstrators, who had come for a militant, legal demonstration, not a confrontation with the cops. The disrupters were isolated politically, and student marshals were able to prevent them from breaking up the demonstration.

In sharp contrast to the spirited anticubback protests, Beame's Times Square rally was a dispirited, listless affair. Despite heavy promotion in the news media and endorsement by major New York unions, at most 10,000 people showed up to hear a lineup of Democratic party politicians call for more "belt tightening" and federal aid for the banks.

Billed as "New Yorkers United Day," the rally was intended to show public support for the New York Democrats' response to President Ford's attacks on the city. That response is to press for higher taxes, a statewide wage freeze, and cutbacks in welfare and Medicaid.

Among the many advertised celebrities who failed to show was Gov. Hugh Carey. He was busy in Albany trying to ram through the tax-hike legislation.

It was a bizarre scene, in the heart of the midtown pornography district. Some local theaters replaced their regular marquee signs such as "Sex on Wheels" with "New York is United." Others did not. Overhead drifted a huge balloon of a hot dog inscribed, "Nathan's Loves New York."

One of the first speakers was Beame himself, who, after a lavish introduction, was greeted with silence from

most of the audience and boos from many.

The day-care workers chanted, "Hey, Beame, what do you say; how many centers did you close today?"

Master of ceremonies Joey Adams had to remind the crowd of where their sympathies were supposed to lie: "I said Mayor Beame, not Gerald Ford."

The best response from the crowd was for television personality Geraldine Rivera and actress Colleen Dewhurst, who demanded that tax money squandered on the Vietnam War and CIA-FBI spying be sent to aid New York City.

The New York *Daily News*, in an editorial that morning boosting the rally, had warned, "Let's not make it a gigantic soapbox for rabble-rousing politicians, or a carnival of gimme-gimme demonstrations by special-interest groups."

The right-wing sheet admonished New Yorkers to leave "demands and recriminations at home and do what the mayor says." As the spectrum of actions November 24 effectively showed, that is the last thing the working people of New York are about to do.

...teachers

Continued from back page

By Sunday, agreement was reached on a two-year contract with modest money improvements roughly 20 percent higher than those the board had been offering only two days earlier. In addition, maximum class sizes were reduced from thirty-two to thirty-one this year, and will go down to twenty-nine for lower grades and thirty for higher grades next year.

This also set the stage for freeing the ninety teachers the next day, although the union was unable to beat the more than \$220,000 in fines imposed by the judge.

The New Haven Federation of Teachers faced problems similar to those confronting many other teachers in the past two years.

The rulers claim there is no money for education. When teachers resist these attempts to undermine educational quality and drive down their standard of living, the whole force of the cops, courts, and jails is unleashed against them.

The New Haven teachers have set a clear example: the attacks on education can be fought and victories can be won. But to do so takes a militant struggle and massive, organized support from other working people.

How much the rulers of this country fear such a united labor response is shown by how quickly the New Haven Board of Education "found" the money for the settlement as soon as it was made clear the general strike call was not an idle threat.

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Los Angeles, Central-East: SWP, YSA, Militant Bookstore, 710 S. Westlake Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90057. Tel: SWP, Militant Bookstore—(213) 483-1512; YSA—(213) 483-2581.

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Teachers win strike

New Haven unions stop antilabor drive

By José Pérez

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—Despite mass jailings and stiff fines under a union-busting injunction, the New Haven Federation of Teachers emerged victorious from a bitter two-week strike, thanks to an impressive show of solidarity by the labor movement of this city.

Under the threat of a general strike in support of ninety imprisoned teachers, the board of education sharply reversed its previous position and offered substantial contract concessions. These were included in an agreement approved by a union vote of 431 to 90 on November 23.

Sets example

The impressive victory in New Haven sets an example for teachers around the country, who are more and more often being hit with injunctions and jailings when they try to defend education and their standard of living.

The confrontation here had been building up for a year and a half, ever since negotiations for a new teachers' contract began. Claiming it had "no money," the board's final offer included only a \$200 rise in pay scale in a three-year contract.

Increments—wage increases given to teachers based on number of years' experience and advanced degrees—were included for only two years. In addition, there was no provision for reduction of the maximum class size, one of the teachers' main demands.

Fed up with this kind of treatment from the board, 1,000 of the system's 1,200 teachers and related employees voted overwhelmingly November 9 to strike the following morning.

The walkout was 80 percent effective—the most effective of the three strikes teachers here have been forced to wage in the last five years.

The board responded by trying to smash the union. It decided to keep the forty-six schools open, although more than half the 20,000 students were not attending. The board recruited more than a hundred substitute teachers to act as strikebreakers. It broke off negotiations. And it obtained the automatic injunction provided for under the state law against teacher walkouts.

The federation responded with massive picketing, legal motions of its own, and demands that the schools be closed, since no education was taking place.

Strikebreaking judge

The union asked that Superior Court Judge George Saden remove himself from the case, since he had revealed prejudice against the teachers in public remarks a month earlier. The judge turned down this motion at a November 13 hearing. "I expressed my ideas on irresponsible acts," he said. "It



Two thousand protest law barring teacher strikes at Connecticut capitol November 20. Ground swell of labor solidarity helped New Haven teachers win strike.

doesn't mean I can't sit here and hear this matter."

At that hearing, the judge found the twelve-person union negotiating committee in contempt of court, and ordered them jailed the following morning if the strike hadn't ended. He also fined the union \$5,000 and the negotiators \$273 each for every day the strike continued.

Union President Frank Carrano told reporters after the sentencing, "The strike is in progress and will continue." He and the other eleven leaders went to jail Friday, November 14, but were released early the next morning to resume negotiations with the board.

Those weekend negotiations found the board still intransigent, and teachers resumed picketing Monday morning. The board again broke off contract talks, and Judge Saden dumped the twelve back into jail. He also summoned 200 other teachers to appear in his court the following morning.

On Tuesday, November 18, Saden sent seventy-eight rank-and-file strikers to jail, giving them the same fines as had been imposed on their leaders.

Delivering the sentence with a tirade of abuse, Saden told the teachers they had "taken the first step toward what amounts to anarchy."

He castigated the teachers as "law-breakers" who were encouraging everything from violation of school rules to armed robbery. He urged the

board of education to fire the lot of them.

The seventy-eight were then shipped out to an old national guard barracks that had been hastily converted into a prison camp to hold up to 600 teachers.

Unions react

This vindictive, cold-blooded attack outraged the New Haven labor movement. The next morning, November 19, nearly 1,000 maintenance, cafeteria, and other school personnel struck in support of the imprisoned teachers, knowing that the next strike to be broken could be theirs.

Also on November 19, the executive board of the Greater New Haven Central Labor Council recommended to its ninety-two member unions that a general strike be called to protest the jailings.

These actions fueled demands by community groups, clergy, and even the Parent-Teacher Association that the schools be closed, the teachers released, and negotiations resumed.

School officials were still determined to hold out, but Mayor Bartholomew Guida gave in and ordered the schools closed.

The teachers viewed this decision as a victory. They voted to call off their strike while schools were closed so that negotiations could proceed, and asked Judge Saden to free the ninety teachers. Saden refused.

But the board did agree to further negotiations, and these were conducted by a provisional union team, making constant phone calls to jailed teachers. By Friday, November 21, the board's offers were still far below what teachers were demanding.

Set general strike

That night something happened to prompt a change of attitude by the board. Some 146 delegates, representing the 30,000 members of unions affiliated to the central labor council, voted unanimously to schedule a half-day general strike for November 25 at noon.

In addition, the United Auto Workers and United Electrical Workers—which have locals in the area but are not part of the council—pledged their support and participation. The president of the Connecticut Federation of Teachers recommended to all affiliates of this union in the state that they do the same.

The previous day, the Connecticut Education Association had staged a march of 2,000 at the state capitol in Hartford to protest the anti-teacher-strike law. Other protest actions were held by teacher locals across the state, reflecting the ground swell of support for New Haven teachers.

The following morning, the state government sent in a special mediator.

Continued on page 30